DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 168 351 FL 010 204

AUTHOR	Cowan, William, Ed.
TITLE	Papers of the Ninth Algonquian Conference.
INSTITUTION	Carleton Univ., Ottawa (Ontario).
PUB DATE	78
NOTE	277p.; Papers presented at the Algonquian Conference (9th, Worcester, Massachusetts, October 28-30, 1977)
AVAILABLE FROM	Department of Linguistics, Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada ($7.00)
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Acculturation; *American Indian Languages; *American Indians; *Anthropological Linguistics; Cree; *Dialect Studies; Eskimos; *Ethnography; Ethnology; Folk Culture; Grammar; *Language Research; Phonology; Sociocultural Patterns; *United States History
IDENTIFIERS	*Algonquian; Blackfoot; Cheyenne; Micmac; Mushuau Innu; Witigo; Wood

ABSTRACT

This volume contains 22 conference papers concerned with Algonquian languages and culture: (1) "Cheyenne Vowel Devoicing," by W. Leman and R. Rhodes; (2) "An Analysis of Upper Delawaren Land Sales in Northern New Jersey, 1630-1758," by R.S. Grumet; (3) "Ethnology in the Works of Rowland E. Robinson," by G.M. Day; (4) "The Red and Blue Drum Comes to the Delaware," by J.H. Howard; (5) "Penobscot County: Disagreement over Who Lived There in the 17th Century Needs Resolving -- if Possible," by A.H. Morrison; (6) "L'Algonquin du Nord," by D. Daviault et al.; (7) "Ethnographic Reconstruction of Witigo," by R.J. Preston; (8) "The Sutaio Dialect of Cheyenne: A Discussion of the Evidence," by I. Goddard; (9) "Concepts of America, Amerindians, and Acculturation," by C.J. Jaenen; (10) "Did the First Eskimos Speak Algonquian?" by J.G. Taylor; (11) "A Historical Overview of Cree Dialects," by D.H. Pentland; (12) "Toward the Linguistic History of an Algonquian Dialect: Observations on the Wood Vocabulary," by G.F. Aubin; (13) "Tradition Orale et Action Politique Montagnaises: le Cas de la Riviere Natashquan," by S. Vincent; (14) "Game Shortage and the Inland Fur Trade in Northern Quebec, 1915 to 1940," by A. Tanner; (15) "Algonquin and Other Ojibwa Dialects: A Preliminary Report," by G.L. Piggott; (16) "Indians and Englishmen as Themselves: Notes for an Inquiry into Basic Biases," by P.L. Barbour; (17) "Antipassive in Blackfoot," by D.G. Frantz; (18) "Some Contemporary Views of Micmac Supernaturalism," by V.O. Erickson; (19) "An Overview of Recent Micmac Language Research and Development," by P. Levi, Jr. and M. Milliea; (20) "Aspects de la Neologie Denominative en Montagnais," by I. Drapeau; (21) "The Probability of Family Hunting Territories in Eighteenth Century James Bay," by T. Morantz; and (22) "L'Alternance N/Yod en Mushuau Innu," by A. Ford. (AM)

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PAPERS OF THE NINTH ALGONQUIAN CONFERENCE

Edited by

William Cowan

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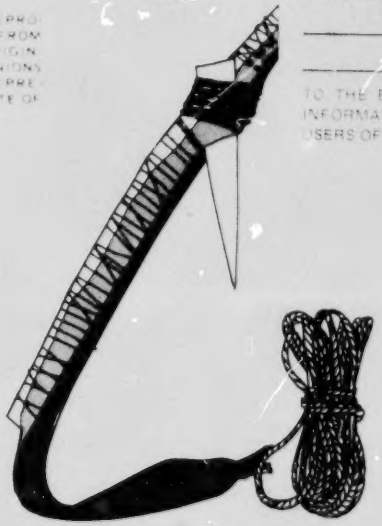

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CARLETON UNIVERSITY
OTTAWA
1978

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INTRODUCTION

The Ninth Algonquian Conference was held in Worcester, Massachusetts, under the auspices of Assumption College, October 28, 29, and 30, 1977. The convener and organizer was Professor George Aubin of Assumption College, whose administrative talent, affability, and charm in both official languages contributed mightily to the success of the Conference, and to whom all participants extend their warmest thanks.

Worcester is not only the home of the American Antiquarian Society, whose archives are rich with documents bearing on the history of the Algonquian speaking peoples, but it is also located in what was the heartland of the New England Algonquian culture, equidistant from Massachusetts Bay to the northeast and Narragansett Bay to the southeast. It is fitting that we should thus pay homage to a culture that has immeasurably enriched all our cultures in North America, both European and Amerindian.

Thirty-four papers were delivered at the Conference, dealing with all aspects of Algonquian culture, both ancient and modern. Of these, 22 have been submitted and accepted for publication in this volume. Those not included are the following:

Nicholas Smith, Ogdensburg Public Library: Men, mines and mammoth machines: changes at Mistassini.
Helen H. Tanner, Newberry Library: Problems encountered in mapping Algonquian distribution.
Charles Ackerman, University of New Brunswick: Proto-Algonquian kinship structure.
Charles Bishop, SUNY at Oswego: Aboriginal Cree social organization.
John Nichols and Patricia Ningewance, Lakehead University: Algonquian language planning and standardization in Ontario.
Melburn Thurman, Princeton University: Anti-evolutionists and family hunting territories: the Delaware case.
Frank Siebert, Jr., Old Town, Maine: The reckoning of time in Eastern Abenaki, especially Penobscot.
Marguerite MacKenzie, University of Toronto: Montagnais dialectology--one more time.
Olive Dickason, University of Alberta: Amerindian sovereignty and territoriality: a Renaissance European perspective.
Barbara Burnaby, O.I.S.E.: Language policies for native education in Ontario.
Jill Schumann, Rutgers University: Drinking patterns on the New French frontier.
Janet Warne, McGill University: Problems in reconstructing Proto-Eastern Algonquian: the divergence of Delaware.

I would like to take this opportunity to dedicate this volume to a remarkable individual in whose fate the interaction of the three major peoples from whom we derive our heritage were inextricably bound up: Father Sebastian Rasles, a Frenchman killed by the English while he was

defending the Indians. About five miles north of the town of Norridgewock in Maine, a territory where the three groups were in constant contact, is a small cemetary with a monument dedicated to Father Rasles. It is slightly askew, having apparently fallen down on some occasion, but has been lovingly if amateurishly restored. It has two inscriptions: on the front is a brass plate in English, put there after the restoration. The inscription reads as follows:

> The Reverend Sebastian Rasles, who was a native of France, born of French parentage and a missionary of the Society of Jesus, after evangelizing the Hurons and Illinois, became the apostle of the Abnakis. For thirty-four years he instilled into them and kept alive the faith and love of Christ. Unterrified by the perils of war and often testifying to his readiness to give his life for his flock, he died the best of shepherds on this very spot amid the slaughter of his people of Narantsouac on the 23rd of August, 1724. To him and his children in Christ who died along with him, Benedict Joseph Fenwick, Bishop of Boston, built and dedicated this monument August 23rd, 1883. A.M.D.G.
>
> Rededicated August 27, 1959 by the Maine State Council, Knights of Columbus.

The other inscription is on the back, engraved into the granite block that is the base of the plinth, and is in Latin. With judicious emendments for the places where the letters are weathered and illegible, it reads as follows:

> Sebastianus Rasles natione Gallus e Societate Jesu missionarius, per aliquot annos Illinois et Huronibus primum evangelans, deinde per 34 annos Abenaquis fide et charitate Christi verus Apostolus. Periculis armorum interritus se pro suis ovibus mori paratum saepius testificans, inter arma et caedas ac pagi Narantsouak NORRIDGEWOCK et Ecclesiae suas animas hoc in ipso loco occidit tandem optimus pastor die 23 Augusti AD 1724. Ipso et filiis suis in Christo defunctis monumentum hoc posuit BENEDICTUS FENWICK Episcobus Bostoniensis dedicavitque 23 Augusti AD 1883. AMDG.

To the remarkable Father Sebastian Rasles, then, this volume is dedicated.

William Cowan
Carleton University

Cheyenne Vowel [illegible]oicing

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Summer Institute of Linguistics

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0. The study of Cheyenne has, for years, been hampered by the lack of data available to the scholarly world. The history of the analysis of voiceless vowels in Cheyenne is a case in point.[1] We offer this paper as a revision of earlier attempts to account for vowel devoicing based on new data which has come to light as a result of ongoing field work among the Northern Cheyenne. In this paper we will start from the analysis of Frantz (1972).

Frantz identified three basically different environments in which vowels devoice. These environments are summarized in (1).[2]

(1) (a) Phrase Final Devoicing (PFD)

$$\overset{V}{[-acc]} \rightarrow [-vd] \,/\, C ___ \&$$

(b) Prepenultimate Devoicing (PPD)

$$\overset{V}{[-acc]} \rightarrow [-vd] \,/\, \overset{C}{[+oral]} ___ \begin{bmatrix} -vd \\ -clos \end{bmatrix} (C) \overset{C}{[+vd]}$$

(c) Penultimate Devoicing (PD)

$$\overset{V}{[-acc]} \rightarrow [-vd] \,/\, VC_1 ___ (t) \begin{bmatrix} C \\ -vd \\ -clos \end{bmatrix} e \#$$

Frantz, in addition, posited a fourth environment for devoicing (1d) which we will ultimately treat as a special case of penultimate devoicing.[3]

(1) (d) $e \rightarrow [-vd] \,/\, C ___ k$

One interesting bonus of this current study is a new discovery in the tonal system of Cheyenne that came to light as a result of examining these places in which vowels did not devoice as expected. We will take up this matter in the appendix.

1. Let us now turn to a detailed consideration of each of the environments in which devoicing takes place. In the following discussion we will cite examples in a form closely approximating a classical phonemic form, ignoring several rather salient aspects of pronunciation.[4]

1.1 Phrase Final Devoicing. Vowels devoice phrase finally.

(2)	mahpė[5]	water
	mahpe ná-vóóhtà	I see the water.
	ná-vóóhta mahpė	I see the water.

Sentences, of course, may be broken into phrases, as in (3).

(3)	mahpė ná-vóóhtà	I see the water.
	ná-vóóhtà mahpė	I see the water.

As the result of a general rule of tone sandhi, all phrase final vowels have a low tone so it cannot be seen whether tone might effect the devoicing of word final vowels. Also as the result of a general rule, h is deleted before a word final vowel, yielding word final vowel clusters.[6] In these cases only the second of the two vowels is devoiced.

(4)	né-vóohtáa mahpė?	Do you see the water?
	mahpe né-vóohtáà?	
	ná-sáa-vóohtóo mahpė	I do not see the water.
	mahpe ná-sáa-vóohtóò	
	áenoo ná-vóómò	I see a hawk.
	ná-vóómo áenoò	

On the basis of these facts, we revise (1a) as (5).

(5) Phrase Final Devoicing (revised)
V → [-vd] / ___ &

1.2 Pre penultimate Devoicing. Vowels devoice in any syllable preceding the penult if they meet three conditions: 1) they have a low tone, 2) a voiceless fricative or h follows, and 3) a consonant other than h precedes. Some examples are given in (6).

(6)	mȧheó?ò	house
	hóhkėha?ė	hat
	kȯsánė	sheep (pl.)
	mȧxéhò	logs
	mȧhpevȧ	in the water
	ka?ėškónė	child

The forms in (7) show that non-low tones do not devoice.

(7)	móxėšénė	mint
	móxe?ėstóó?ò	paper
	mȧhtámė	food
	mȧhtatamáó?ò	shoulder
	mȧhtsésta?ė	umbilical cord
	mȧhtsėstóó?ò	chin
	né-hé?eemahȧ	Are you blowing your nose?
	nėhe?onáxestȯtsė	napkin
	ná-htá-mésehė	I ate.
	nȧ-hta-mésehė	I will eat.

The forms in (8) snow that a consonant other than h must precede.

(8) (a)	oeškésȯ	dog
	ka?ėškónė	child
	hoestonestȯtsė	number
	vo?ėstánė	person
(b)	nėhe?onáxėstotȯ	napkins
	véhestotȯtsė	names
	ȯhtaané-máheó?ȯ	hotel
	hohtséme	ball

Prepenultimate devoicing applies freely across prenoun/preverb boundaries as well as across word boundaries, as shown in (9).

(9)	ná-móne-mêtȯ	I recently gave it to him.
	é-mónė-sétovóestȧ	It's early afternoon. (It was recently noon.)
	ná-vóómȯ	I see him.
	nȧ-hta-vóómȯ	I will see him.
	ma?xe-kosȧ	bighorn sheep (big sheep)
	ma?xė-heó?ȯhtátȯ	alligator (big water puppy)
	ná-vóómo méšė	I see the woodtick.
	ná-vóómȯ šê?šė	I see the duck.
	ná-vóómȯ hetaṇė	I see the man.

In Frantz' formulation of PPD (1b), the purpose of putting the feature [+vd] into the final vowel of the environment was 1) to prevent the devoicing of the penultimate vowel in words like those in (10):

(10)	nótaxė	soldier
	áenohė	hawk
	[áanoȯ]	
	ma?ahtsė	arm
	hestahkė	twin boy
	ókohkė	crow

and 2) to prevent the devoicing of the antepenultimate vowel in the words which have voiceless penultimate vowels like those in (11):

(11)	táho-xe?ėstónestȯtsė	desk
	tsėhése-nėstsestȯtsė	Cheyenne (language)
	hemáhkasėtsė	buffalo chips
	oó?omešétsė	oaks

As first pointed out in Rhodes (1972) the feature [+vd] will not work to save penultimate vowels from devoicing because such vowels do not devoice in those places where PFD (5) does not apply.

(12) nótaxe ná-vóómò — I see the soldier.
áenohe ná-vóómò — I see the hawk.
hestáhke ná-vóómò — I see the twin boy.

But this device will work to account for the forms of (11). The general pattern of the language is that the antepenultimate syllable is free to devoice if the penultimate syllable is voiced, but, to the best of our knowledge there exist no examples of devoiced antepenultimate vowels before devoiced penultimate vowels. Consider the forms in (13) which indicate strongly that the devoicing of antepenultimate vowels is strongly tied to the devoicing of penultimate vowels.

(13) nèhe?onáxestòtsè — napkin
nèhe?onáxèstotò — napkins

The one revision that we want to make in Frantz' formulation of PPD (1b) comes from a suggestion first made by Trechsel (1976). In order to account for the failure of penultimate vowels to devoice when the ultimate vowel is voiced we need to restrict PPD to prepenultimate syllables. This approach receives strong support from compound words such as those in (14).

(14) nótaxè — soldier
nótáxe-éšeevá — Veterans' Day
mahpé — water
máhpé-mo?ehè — moose (water elk)
náhkohè — bear
náhkóhé-vosè — Bear Butte

Therefore we will revise (1b) as (15), adding an extra vowel to block application in penultimate syllables.

(15) Antepenultimate Devoicing (revised) (APD)

$$\overset{V}{[\text{-acc}]} \cdot [\text{-vd}] \;/\; C ___ \begin{bmatrix}\text{-vd}\\ \text{-clos}\end{bmatrix} C_0 \overset{V}{[\text{ vd}]} C_0 V$$

Condition: The preceding consonant may not be h.

Contrary to previous thinking, PPD (15) will apply to as many as three consecutive vowels as the examples in (16) show.

(16) (a) náhtsèsévò — the calf of my leg
hestáhkéhá?è — twin girl
tséh-vésè-stóxe?èstónětò — my school
(b) nèstsèstáhtoónó — your spine
ná-a?táxéškósenahtsè — I accidentally cut my finger
máh-nóhtsèstovótsè — if you (sg.) ask him

Such instances of multiple devoicing show that PPD (15)

applies iteratively from left to right.'

1.3 Penultimate Devoicing. The devoicing of vowels in penultimate syllables is far more complex than has been previously recognized. In general, penultimate vowels devoice only if several conditions are met. First, the final vowel must be e. Second, the following consonant must be t, s, š, or x, i.e. a simple obstruent.[10] Therefore, vowels devoice before tse, se, še, or xe. Some examples are given in (17).

(17) hóhkòxė́ axe
hemáhkásė́ buffalo chip
havė́sė́ evil
mónė́šė́ Really!
vévėtsė́ horn
voxótsė́ meat
né-vóomátsė́ I see you.
ná-némenémásė́ I was said to be singing.

However, there are, next to these forms, a fair number of contrasts with respect to penultimate devoicing which have gone previously unrecognized.

(18) hóhkòxė́ axe
nótaxé soldier
ná-hestananósė́ I was said to have taken it.
ná-ta?posė́ I can't stand the cold.
tséh-tahpetásė́ when he was big
tsé-totahpetasė́ the ones who are big

Any hope of rescuing this situation on the basis of tone is rendered hopeless by sets of forms like the following.

(19) é-ma?ovêsė́ He has red hair.
é-homósė́ He is cooking.
é-ta?posė́ He can't stand the cold.

This three way tone contrast has been previously unnoticed (to the best of our knowledge). We will discuss it in the appendix.

In addition to the contrasts of voicing in the penultimate vowels of the forms of (18), there is a set of well known contrasts for voicing in penultimate vowels before the word final sequence -hke, probably an original diminutive. Some examples are given in (20).

(20) (a) mótšéškė́ knife (cf. é-hé-mótšeškė́ He has
má?tšéškė́ bow a knife.)
amé́škė́ grease
mótahkė́ knife (archaic)
(b) hátšeškė́ ant
ónone-vóneške praire dog
hestahkė́ twin boy

In these cases penultimate devoicing applies to the forms in (20a) which contain an intervening h (realized as š between e and k), while an intervening h otherwise seems to block the devoicing of penultimate vowels, as the forms in (21) suggest.

(21) ma?ahtsė — arm
ná-vóomahtsė — I see myself.
é-hoo?ohtsė — He's going home.

But even here there are contrasting forms.

(22) hoókòhtsė
(cf. hoókóhtsėtsė raw corn (pl.))
vóhpomá?òhtsė
(cf. é-vóhpomá?òhtséeno?ė It tastes salty.)
né-hestanósėstsė You were said to be taking him.
(cf. né-hestanósestó You were said to be taking them.)

In view of these contrasts we see no alternative to treating the devoicing as a property of the morphemes that condition it. In particular, we note that it is the e at the end of Frantz' formulation of penultimate devoicing (1c) that is the factor most directly involved in devoicing. Consider the forms in (23).

(23) vévėtsė — horn
vévetò — horns
hoéstòtsė — dress
hoéstótò — dresses
hoohtsėtsė — tree
hoohtsetó — trees

We feel that the basic insight is that there are two different kinds of word final e in Cheyenne, one that allows penultimate devoicing, and one that doesn't. This is most clearly in pairs like those in (24).

(24) mótšėškė — knife
é-hé-mótšeškė — he has a knife

In the rest of this section we would like to outline a proposal for the treatment of these two different e's of Cheyenne.

To keep things clear we will write E in abstract forms for those e's which allow devoicing of penultimate vowels.

We know of seven different morphophonemic situations which treat words ending in E as though the E were not there. Four of these have to do with segmental morphophonemics, and three have to do with tone sandhi. We treat the segmental morphophonemics first.

1.3.1 Question Formation. The yes/no question form of verbs is made by adding -he to the end of independent verb

forms. A fair number of morphophonemic complications arise as a result of this addition. We will look at just enough to show that question forms, do in fact, add -he.

First, an h is lost before the ultimate vowel, as mentioned in I.1 above. This can only clearly be seen in phrase medial position.

(25) áenoo né-vóómó I see the hawk /UL áenohe/
é-nóvaa hetanė the man is slow /UL é-nóvahe/

In addition, clusters of ae and oe assimilate to aa and oo respectively by a very general, but very superficial rule. The combined effects of these rules gives the phrase medial pattern of (25) and the phrase final pattern of (26).

(26) áanoò hawk /UL áenohe/ cf. [áanhoyo?ò] áenóheo?ò (pl.)
náhkoò bear /UL náhkohe/ cf. [náhkhoyo?ò] náhkoheo?ò (pl.)
é-váváaà he's swinging /UL é-váváahe/ cf. [éváváaheyo?ò] they... é-váváaheo?ò
é-nóvaà he's slow /UL é-nóvahe/ cf. [énóvhayo?ò] they... é-nóvaheo?ò

This combination of vowel + he word finally is the only source of word final vowel clusters. All other underlying word final vowel clusters undergo a series of rules known as Goddard's Law[11] which have the effect of adding a glottal stop and making a copy of the second vowel after the added glottal stop. Some examples are given in (27).

(27) máheó?ò house /UL maheón/
mée?ė feather /UL méen/
é-naa?ė he is dead /UL é-nae/[12]
é-néé?ė he is standing /UL é-néé/

As can be seen from the examples in (28), yes/no question forms fit the patterns of (25) and (26), showing that such forms, in fact, end in morphophonemic -he.

(28) né-vóohtáhė? [né-vóohtāā] Do you see it?
né-vóomóhė? [né-vóomōò] Do you see him?
né-nééhé? [né-néée] Are you standing up?
né-vóohtáhe mahpė? [névóohtāa mahpė] Do you see the water?
né-vóomóhe hetanė? [névóomōo hetane] Do you see the man?

Now with respect to penultimate devoicing, notice that the yes/no forms of verbs that normally show penultimate devoicing do not show the additional -he but rather show a voiced penult.

(29) né-mésenǫ́tsé — You eat them.
né-mésenotsé? — Do you eat them?
né-vǫ́ohtánǫ́tsé — You see them.
né-vǫ́ohtánotsé? — Did you see them?

The forms in (29) show that the addition of -he proceeds as though E were not present.[13]

1.3.2 v-Deletion. Closely tied to question formation is as alternation involving the fact that v is deleted before a word final low tone o. The only places that this alternation shows up involve question forms of verbs, but the pattern is nonetheless clear. The forms in (30) exemplify the pattern.

(30) é-maneo?ǫ́ — They are drinking. /UL é-mane-vo/
é-manevohé? — Are they drinking? /UL é-mane-vo-he/
é-mésheo?ǫ́ — They are eating. /UL é-mése-he-vo/
é-méséhevohé? — Are they eating? /UL é-mése-he-vo-he/

In the first of each pair in (30) the deletion of the v yields a word final vowel cluster which undergoes Goddard's Law, giving, in these cases, an additional -?o. The fact that the tone of the o involved is important to show by forms such as those in (31) which have word final high tone o underlying.

(31) é-manenǫ́?ǫ́ — They are drinking it. /UL é-mane-nóvó/
é-mésenǫ́vǫ́ — They are eating it. /UL é-mése-nóvó/

Now consider the following forms which have devoiced penultimates and show the alternation of v with Ø.

(32) é-véhpéhanétsé — They (in.) are empty. /UL é-véhpeha-ne-votE/
é-véhpéhanevotsé? — Are they empty? /UL é-véhpeha-ne-vot-he/
é-ma?onétsé — They (in.) are red. /UL é-ma?o-ne-votE/
é-ma?onevotsé? — Are they red? /UL é-ma?o-ne-vot-he/

In the first of each pair of forms in (32) the v deletion feeds a rule which deletes ǫ́. This makes the pattern a little harder to see at first, but since the o deletion rule is independently motivated by the facts of noun declension, this complication does not affect the anaysis.[14] The main point is, again, that v deletion, which crucially depends on the fact that the o which conditions it be the last vowel of the word, operates in the forms of (32) as if the E there were not present.

1.3.3 Goddard's Law. Another way in which E acts as if it were not present involves Goddard's Law, mentioned above. The heart of the synchronic version of this complex

alternation can be captured in the formalism of (33).[15]

(33) Goddard's Law
$V_1\ V_2\ (C)\ \# \rightarrow V_1\ V_2\ ?\ V_2\ (C)\ \#$

Some examples of the operation of this process are given in (34).

(34)	mée?ė	feather	/UL méen/
	méenȯ	feathers	/UL méen + o/
	máheó?ȯ	house	/UL maheón/
	máheónȯtsė	houses	/UL maheón + otE/

Parallel to these examples in (34) are those in (35) which end in E.

(35)	véé?ėsė	tooth	/UL véesE/
	véesȯtsė	teeth	/UL vées + otE/
	séó?ȯtsė	ghost	/UL séotE/
	séotȯ	ghosts	/UL séot + o/

Again in the examples in (34) Goddard's Law, which is conditioned by the fact that the vowel after which the ? is to be added is the last vowel of the word, operates as if the E were not present.

1.3.4 n-Deletion. The final fact of segmental morphophonemics which indicates that E acts as if it were not there, involves a rule which deletes n from certain morphemes word medially. This is not to be confused with the rule which deletes word final non-obstruents, and which is responsible for the loss of n from forms such as those in (34). The examples in (36) show the operation of both Word Final Non-obstruent Deletion (37) and Medial n Loss (38).

(36)	(a)	kósȧ	sheep	/UL kosán/
		kȯsánė	sheep (pl.)	/UL kosán + e/
		kȯsáésȯ	lamb	/UL kosán + esón/
		é-kȯsáevė	it is a sheep	/UL é + kosán + eve/
	(b)	hóvȧ	animal	/UL hováhn/
		hováhnė	animals	/UL hováhn + e/
		hováhevȧ	on the animal	/UL hováhn + eva/
		é-hováhevė	it is an animal	/UL é-hováhn + eve/

(37) Word Final Non-obstruent Deletion
$[\overset{C}{-obs}] \rightarrow \emptyset\ /\ ___\ \#$

(38) Medial n Loss
$n \rightarrow \emptyset\ /\ ___ + eC_0V$ (irregularly)

Now notice in particular that Medial n Loss (38) requires that there be two following vowels to condition its

operation. But notice the forms in (39) which contain E. In these forms E does not count in conditioning the operation of Medial n Loss.

(39)	(a)	éšė	day	/UL éše./
		éšénėtsė	days	/UL éšen + étE/
		éšeevȧ	on a day	/UL éšen + ev/
	(b)	hoéstátó	belt	/UL hoéstátón/
		hoéstátónėtsė	belts	/UL hoéstátón + étE/
		é-hoéstátóevė	it is a belt	/UL é + hoéstátón + eve/

Thus the examples in (39) provide more evidence that E acts as if it were not there.

1.3.5 Epenthesis. Before proceeding to give further arguments regarding the status of E, we will propose our analysis here. The further arguments all involve tone sandhi and are sufficiently complex that being able to lay out the whole derivation in each case will make things much clearer.

The way we propose to account for the morphophonemic patterns shown above is to treat E as epenthetic. That is, we claim that E is not present in underlying forms, but is added by rule in the course of the derivation. Then we can condition penultimate devoicing on the particular type of consonant that is word final in abstract forms. In other words, Cheyenne words, in underlying forms, can be of three types: 1) those that end in vowels, 2) those that end in non-obstruents, and 3) those that end in obstruents. Those that end in vowels end superficially with the same vowel as they do underlyingly (although Goddard's Law may apply). Those that end in non-obstruents lose their final consonant by Word Final Non-Obstruent Deletion (37). Those that end in obstruents in underlying form end superficially in e and have penultimate devoicing. Some examples of each type of word are given in (40). Sketches of sample derivations are given in (41).

(40)	(a)	Vowel final underlying		
		hésė	fly	/UL hésé/
		héseo?ó	(pl.)	/UL hésé-o/
		hohpė	soup	/UL hohpe/
		hohpėtsė	(pl.)	/UL hohpe-ot/
	(b)	Non-obstruent final underlying		
		ho?kótȧ	scarf	/UL ho?kótan/
		ho?kótanó	(pl.)	/UL ho?kótan-o/
		vee?ė	house	/UL veen/
		veenótsė	(pl.)	/UL veen-ot/
		xáa?ė	weasel	/UL xáeh/
		xáehó	(pl.)	/UL xáeh-o/
	(c)	Obstruent final underlying		
		vévėtsė	horn	/UL vévet/
		vévetó	(pl.)	/UL vévet-o/

vée?ėsė	tooth	/UL vées/
véesǫtsė	(pl.)	/UL vées-ot/
hoǫ́kǫ́htsė	raw corn	/UL hoǫ́koht/
hoǫ́kǫ́htsėtsė	(pl.)	/UL hoǫ́koht-ét/

(41) UL	hésé	veen	vévet	vées
Word Final				
Non-obst. Del. (37)		vee		
Goddard's Law (33)		vee?e		vée?es
Penultimate Dev.			vévėt	vée?ės
Epenthesis			vévėte	vée?ése
Other rules	hêsė	vee?ė	vévėtsė	vée?ėsė

We will formalize Penultimate Devoicing as (42) and Epenthesis as (43).

(42) Penultimate Devoicing (PD)
V → [-vd] / C ___ (h) C #

(43) Epenthesis (Ep)
Ø → e / C ___ #

The order in which the rules in (41) apply is the order in which they must apply.

Word Final Non-obstruent Deletion (37)
Goddard's Law (33)
Penultimate Devoicing (42)
Epenthesis (43)

Now we will show how our analysis produces each of the morphophonemic patterns mentioned above by giving sketches of sample derivations. First let us look at the interaction of question formation and penultimate devoicing (examples from (29)).

(44) UL	né-mése-n-ot	né-mése-n-ot-he
PD (42)	né-mésenǫt	
Ep (43)	né-mésenǫ́te	
Other rules	né-mésenǫ́tsė	né-mésenotsė

Here the presence of the question morpheme -he blocks the application of PD (42) giving the pattern shown in (29).

Next let us consider the interaction of PD (42) and v-Deletion (examples from (32)).

(45) UL	é-ma?o-ne-vot	é-ma?o-ne-vǫt-he
v-Del.	é-ma?oneot	
o-Del.	é-ma?onet	
PD (42)	é-ma?onėt	
Ep (43)	é-ma?onėte	
Other rules	é-ma?onėtsė	é-ma?onevotsė

Here again the presence of the question morpheme -he blocks the application of PD (42), but its presence also blocks

the application of v-Deletion giving the very unusual looking pattern shown in (39).

The interaction of Goddard's Law (33) with PD (42) is shown in (41) above. The word final consonant both allows Goddard's Law (33) to operate, and conditions PD (42) giving the pattern of (35).

Finally we give the derivational sketch of the interaction of Medial n Loss (38) with PD (42) and Epenthesis (43).

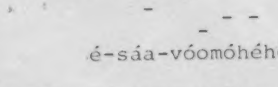
(46) UL	ésen-eva	ésen-ét
Medial n Loss (38)	éseeva	
PD (42)		ésenèt
Epenthesis (43)		ésenète
Other rules	ésèevà	ésénètsè[16]

The crucial interaction in this case is between Medial n Loss (38) and Epenthesis (43). Medial n Loss counts syllables before Epenthesis operates giving the pattern of (39).

We are now ready to move on to examine the tone sandhi phenomena which stand in support of our analysis. There are three which we know to be tied to the end of a word: all of them induce a change in the tone of the penultimate syllable. When Penultimate Devoicing (42) has applied a parallel group of tone changes appear in the antepenultimate syllable, lending very strong support to the analysis that the final e conditioning PD (42) is epenthetic. We will now go through the cases one at a time.

1.3.6 High Tone Raising. After a low tone a high tone is realized lower than a previous high. Thus a word like é-sáa-vóomóhéhò "He didn't see him." has a pitch contour like that shown in (47).

(47)



In fact the step from a low to a following high is often very small. Let us call this lowering of high tone downstep. There is one environment in which downstep does not apply. This is given in the following rule.

(48) High Tone Raising

$$\acute{v} \cdot \hat{v} \;/\; \grave{v} ___ \acute{v}\ \#$$

We use the circumflex to mark the tone of a vowel which does not undergo downstep. Sometimes a raised high will show a slight fall phonetically. Examples of the operation of High Tone Raising (48) are given in (49).

(49) tséx-homósetò when you (sg.) cooked
/UL té-h-homosé-ton/

tséx-homósêtò when I cooked
/UL té-h-homosé-tón/

tséx-hétométò when you (sg.) told the truth
/UL té-h-hétomé-ton/

tséx-hétomêtò when I told the truth
/UL té-h-hétomé-tón/

This rule operates on superficial penultimate syllables when the penult undergoes PD (42).

(50) tséx-homósêvòtsè when they cooked
/UL té-h-homosé-vó-t/

tséx-hétomêvòtsè when they told the truth
/UL té-h-hétomé-vó-t/

A sample derivation should make it clear how this data stands in strong support of an analysis of penultimate devoicing as involving epenthesis.

(51)

UL	té-h-homosé-vó-t
v-Del.	d.n.a.[17]
High Tone Raising (48)	téh-homosêvót
PD (42)	téh-homosêvót
Ep (43)	téh-homosêvóte
Other rules	tséx-homósêvòtsè

High Tone Raising only operates in the derivation in (51) by virtue of the fact that the superficial final vowel is not present underlyingly. Thus these data support our analysis of PD (42) as operating on a class of word final vowels.

1.3.7 Low Tone Raising. A low tone in a penultimate syllable is raised to high before a word final high tone vowel. (Such induced high tones are subject to downstep).

(52) Low Tone Raising
$\grave{V} \rightarrow \acute{V}$ / ___ $\acute{V}$ #

Examples of the operation of Low Tone Raising (52) are given in (53).

(53) tséh-manetò when you (sg.) drank
/UL té-h-mane-ton/

tséh-manétò when I drank
/UL té-h-mane-tón/

tséh-éestsetò when you (sg.) spoke /UL té-h-éehte-ton/

tséh-éestsétò when I spoke /UL té-h-éehte-tón/

é-homóséo?ò they cook /UL é-homosé-vo/

é-homósè he cooks /UL é-homosé/
é-hétoméo?ò they tell the truth /UL é-hétomé-vo/

é-hétómè he tells the truth /UL é-hétomé/

As in the previous case, Low Tone Raising operates on superficial penultimate syllables when the penult is devoiced.

(54) tséh-manetò when you (sg.) drank /UL té-h-mane-ton/
tséh-manévòtsè when they drank /UL té-h-mane-vó-t/

tséh-éestsetò when you (sg.) spoke /UL té-h-éehte-ton/
tséh-éestsévòtsè when they spoke /UL té-h-éehte-vó-t/

tséx-homósétò when you (sg.) cooked /UL té-h-homosé-ton/
tséx-homósètsè when he cooked /UL té-h-homosé-t/

tséx-hétométò when you (sg.) told the truth /UL té-h-hétomé-ton/
tséx-hétómètsè when he told the truth /UL té-h-hétomé-t/

We give a sample derivation in (55).

(55) UL té-h-hétomé-t
High Tone Raising (48) d.n.a.[19]
Low Tone Raising (52) téh-hétőmét
PD (42) téh-hétómèt
Epenthesis (43) téh-hétómète
Other rules tséx-hétómètsè

Again in this derivation, we can see that Low Tone Raising only operates here because the final vowel is epenthetic, and thus these facts further support our analysis.

1.3.8 High Tone Lowering. A high tone in a penultimate syllable is lowered if preceded by a high tone and followed by a low tone.

(56) High Tone Lowering
$\acute{v} \rightarrow \grave{v} \; / \; \acute{v} ___ \grave{v} \; \#$

Examples of the operation of High Tone Lowering (56) are given in (57).

(57)	ná-métò	I give it to him	/UL ná-mét-ó/
	é-metsè	he is given it	/UL é-mét-e/
	tséh-mésetò	when you (sg.) ate it	/UL té-h-mése-ton/
	é-mesè	he eats it	/UL é-mése-n/
	é-vóomóhò	he sees him	/UL é-vóom-ó-ho/
	é-métohò	he gives it to him	/UL é-mét-ó-ho/

Notice in particular that High Tone Lowering applies only to penultimate syllables as the forms in (58) show.

(58)	é-véhpehà	it is empty	/UL é-véhpeha/
	é-vóomè	he is seen	/UL é-vóom-e/
	ná-éestsè	I speak	/UL ná-éehte/
	ná-mésehè	I eat	/UL ná-mése-he/
	é-sémónevè	it is a boat	/UL é-sémón-eve/
	etc.		

But now notice that when there is penultimate devoicing the antepenult lowers according to High Tone Lowering (56).

(59)	na-sêmò	my boat	/UL na-sémón/
	sémonòtsè	boats	/UL sémón-ot/
	tséh-mésetò	when you (sg.) ate it	/UL té-h-mése-ton/
	tséh-mesètsè	when he ate it	/UL té-h-mése-t/

We give a sample derivation in (60).

(60)	UL	sémón-ot
	High Tone Lowering (56)	sémonot
	PD (42)	sémonòt
	EP (43)	sémonòte
	Other rules	sémonòtsè

Once again, High Tone Lowering only operates in (60) because the affected syllable is underlyingly penultimate, further supporting our analysis of epenthesis.

1.3.9 We consider the evidence in favour of our analysis to be overwhelming, but we felt that, because our proposal to treat some e's as epenthetic is so radical, substantial evidence needed to be presented in favour of such a proposal. Having presented this evidence, we will now review some of the details of PD (42). Notice that PD (42) is not limited in application to low tone vowels. The two derivations (51) and (55) give examples of PD (42) applying to high tone vowels.[19] Notice also that, unlike PPD (15), PD (42) is not limited in its application by a preceding h, as the forms in (61) show.

(61)	né-vóo?sehátsè	I show it to you
	né-á?ehátsè	I do good to you
	máxehòtsè	firewood (pl.)
	mótšéškehòtsè[20]	knives

One final note is in order. Our approach to penultimate devoicing makes possible a minor revision in PPD (15) which we find more satisfying. In the current formulation of PPD (15), we block the devoicing of the antepenultimate vowel by ordering PD (42) first and then conditioning PPD (15) on whether or not PD (42) has devoiced the (superficially) penultimate vowel. This shows up as the feature [+vd] in the environment of PPD (15). However, we would like to use the fact that forms undergoing PD (42) are underlyingly one syllable shorter than they are superficially to block the application of PPD (15). This makes the reference to the voicing of vowels in the environment of PPD (15) unnecessary. In this solution PPD (15) is ordered above Epenthesis (43) and the superficial antepenultimate vowel may not be devoiced by PPD (15) because before Epenthesis (43) applies, it is not prepenultimate.

1.4 o-Devoicing. There is one final environment in which vowels devoice. One instance of this was noted by Frantz (1972), but he did not notice that it is a regular phenomenon.

The vowel o devoices between a preceding vowel and a following cluster of h plus consonant. Some examples are given in (62).

(62) ná-ǫ́hke-naǫ́otsétanǫ́ — I like to sleep
é-vǫ́ǫ́htánǫ́tsė — he sees them (inan.)
é-ameǫ́htséo?ǫ́ — they walk

The vowels e and a do not devoice in this environment, as shown by the examples in (63).[21]

(63) é-hoestonė — he's counting
é-éestseo?ǫ́ — they are speaking
é-ahto?hǫ́hė — he's buried
é-oneahtáo?ǫ́ — they are deaf

In addition, the o must be low tone to devoice.

(64) é-ameǫ́htsė — he's walking
é-vǫ́ǫ́htą̆ — he sees it
hoǫ́htsetǫ́ — trees

We formulate the rule as in (65).

(65) o-Devoicing.
$\bar{o} \rightarrow$ [-vd] / V ___ h C

In point of fact, o's devoiced by (65) are often not voiceless through their entire length.[22] Because (65) is very superficial, we do not write its effect, except at the preverb boundary where it does totally devoice the o.

Appendix

In this brief section we would like to outline in a rough way the basics of the Cheyenne tone system as we understand them. A more definitive statement is forthcoming (Leman, in preparation). There are two independent prosodic systems operating in Cheyenne: one of pitch and one of stress.

Our understanding of stress is very limited at this time, but it appears that the basic rule stresses every other voiced syllable starting from the right with the last voiced syllable which gets the loudest stress. The rule seems to be restarted from the preverb boundary. A few examples are given in (66).

(66)	he'tané	man
	hó'tamé	dog
	ho'támé	dogs
	,heta'nóhó	man (obv.)
	,má?xe'menó	apples
	,é-'mesé	he eats it
	,ná-'métó	I give it to him

The vowel clusters eo [eyo] and oa [owa] act as two syllables with respect to the stress rule, all other vowel clusters act as a single syllable with respect to this rule.

(67)	he,tane'o?ó	men
	,é- mésėhe'o?ó	they eat
	,hotó'a?á	buffalo
	,ná-'vóómó	I see him
	,é-vóo'móhó	he sees him
	é-,sáa-,vóomó'hehó	he doesn't see him
	ná-,sáa-vóo'môhė	I don't see him

Our understanding of pitch phenomena is also somewhat limited, but we can say the following things. While there are only two underlying tones, high and low, there are numerous phonetically different pitch levels due to the action of two rules which lower high tones following low tones. Within a word, a high tone is realized lower than a preceding high tone when a low tone intervenes. The musical distance between a high tone and a following low tone is approximately that of a major third. But the musical distance between a low tone and a following high is approximately that of a major second, but sometimes is as small as a minor second. Across word boundaries a high tone is realized at the same level as a preceding low. (Note also, all words end, superficially, in low tones by the action of a regular morphotonemic rule.) Also across word boundaries a low tone is realized lower than a preceding low. The effects of word internal downstep is exemplified in (47) above. The effect of phrasal

downstep is exemplified in (68).

(68)
ná-vóóhta hé?ė́ — I see the liver
ná-vóóhta ho?ė́ — I see the land

The tones high and low show different phrase final contours. High tones are level phrase finally, whereas a low tone or a string of consecutive low tones falls phrase finally.

Some comments about the raised high tone are in order. As we have shown above in §1.3.6, there is a class of high tones which are not subject to downstep within words. We have called these raised high tones.[23] Sets of contrasts like those in (19) are numerous. At present we think there may be contrasts involving raised highs from rules other than High Tone Raising (48), but our analysis is not far enough along yet to say for sure. Across word boundaries a raised high is higher than a preceding low.

(69)
ná-vóómo hê?ė́ — I see the woman
ná-vóómo pé?ė́ — I see the nighthawk

Occasionally a raised high may have a slight fall phrase finally. Raised highs also get a particularly strong stress.

We would like to note one further detail involving high tones. A high tone on the first vowel after the preverb boundary is frequently, but only optionally, realized slightly higher than an immediately preceding high tone.

Finally we would like to note that there is a question intonation which consists of two things as we presently understand it. First, the overall register of yes/no questions is lowered, and secondly, phrase final low tones do not drop, but remain level.

NOTES

[1] The important works on this topic include: Davis (1962), Frantz (1972), Rhodes (1972), Alford (1975), and Trechsel (1976). Of these Frantz (1972), Rhodes (1972), and Trechsel (1976) are in the same model of phonological theory. Davis (1962) represents a traditional phonemicist's approach. Alford (1975) uses a computer type model roughly equivalent to a theory of generative phonology using a syllabic cycle. In this inquiry we will use the type of generative

phonological approach used by Frantz, Rhodes, and Trechsel.

[2] We have taken the liberty of revising the notation of Frantz' rules in line with our usage to make clearer the nature of our revision, as well as to highlight how significant his basic insights are to this analysis.

[3] There is one class of devoiced vowels in Cheyenne, first pointed out by Alford (1974), which devoiced "irrationality", i.e. not in an environment which could be viewed as motivating the devoicing from the point of view of its phonetic makeup. A few forms containing such devoiced vowels are given in (70).

(70)		
	mo?éhė-no?hȧ	horse
	vóhpė-vo?hȧ	white horse
	máhtóhtȯ-hóhtȧ-no?kȧ	eleven
	naasóhtȯ-nó?ė	sixty
	é-nėšė-pėheva?ė	It's OK.
	e-ėšė-pėheva?ė	It's already good
	asė-tanȯtsė	Pass it!

We will not attempt to account for these forms in this paper.

[4] Most of these are discussed in Frantz (1972). These include matters like the facts that the sequence voiceless vowel + h sounds simply like a voiceless vowel, and when a voiced vowel follows this sequence, a short glide of the quality of the voiceless vowel is heard in transition. (Frantz characterized this phenomenon as a metathesis of vowel + h.) The following table gives a summary of the phonetics of phonemic /VhV/ sequences in three crucial environments: word medial, word final-phrase medial, and phrase final.

(71)	word medial	word final-phrase medial	phrase final
/Cą̊ha/	Cha	Caa	Caȧ
/Cą̊ho/	Cho	Coo	Coȯ
/Cą̊he/	Cha(y)	Caa	Caȧ
/Cǫ̊ha/	Cha	Cowa	Cowȧ
/Cǫ̊ho/	Cho	Coo	Coȯ
/Cǫ̊he/	Cho(y)	Coo	Coȯ
/Cę̊ha/	Cha	Cea	Ceȧ
/Cę̊ho/	Cho	Ceyo	Ceẏȯ
/Cę̊he/	Che	Cee	Ceė

One salient aspect of pronunciation that Frantz did not mention, but which is cited in Goddard (1967), is that an s is inserted between a voiceless e and a following t in penultimate syllables. We will not write the effect of these processes with the exception of the process deleting h before a word final vowel (implicit in (46)).

On the other hand we will write the effect of a rule

assimilating h after e to s before t and š before k. Similarly we will write the effect of the rule that palatalizes t to ts before e; even when the e is lost as indicated in (46) this rule applies. Finally, of course, we will write devoicing (as a raised dot) everywhere.

[5] There are three phonemic tones in Cheyenne, low tone (unmarked), high tone (marked v́), and raised high tone (marked v̋).

[6] This phenomenon is most common with the two grammatical markers, -he 'yes/no question' and -hé 'negative'. By a regular process, e as the second member of a vowel cluster assimilates to the quality of the preceding vowel. Because of some following discussion we will write the output of this vowel assimilation process word finally in the following examples.

[7] The determination that prepenultimate devoicing applies across word boundaries is somewhat subtle. To see the devoicing we need to distinguish three speech styles: attentive, careful, and normal. In attentive speech sentences are broken into phrases, whereas in the other styles sentences are treated as single phrases. Careful and normal styles are distinguished by the application of certain rules across word boundaries in normal style as opposed to the non-application of those rules in careful style. Prepenultimate devoicing is one of those rules.

(72)

	I see the woodtick.	I see the duck.
Attentive	ná-vóómó méšė	ná-vóómó šĕ?šė
Careful	ná-vóómo méšė	ná-vóómo šĕ?šė
Normal	ná-vóómo méšė	ná-vóómó šĕ?šė

[8] We have not as yet managed to locate any words which have four consecutive prepenultimate vowels in devoicing environments. It may well be that there are no restrictions on PPD regarding how many vowels may devoice in a row.

[9] The approach of Rhodes (1972) was based on the mistaken notion that there was a restriction on devoicing such that there could not be three adjacent devoiced vowels in a single word. Therefore Cheyenne devoicing provides no support for the notion of transderivational constraints.

[10] The sequences VkV and VpV do not occur in Cheyenne except across prenoun/preverb boundaries. Note also that t becomes ts automatically before e, so ts functions as a simple obstruent.

[11] This treatment of word final vowel clusters was first discovered by Goddard (this volume, footnote 14).

[12] The forms involving clusters of underlying ae and oe come up as surface aa?e and oo?e instead of *ae?e and *oe?e by the general rule which assimilates e to the quality of an immediately preceding vowel. This same rule accounts for the assimilations in the forms in (25) and (26), operating after h deletion.

[13] The loss of h in these cases is accomplished by a regular rule that operates in nouns, reducing the obviative -ho to -o after stems which end in a consonant.

[14] The two rules are:

(73) v-Deletion
$v \rightarrow \emptyset \; / \; ___ \; \delta \; C_0 \; \#$

(74) o-Deletion
$o \rightarrow \emptyset \; / \; e + ___ \; C \; \#$

[15] Our formalism looks somewhat different from that implied in Goddard (this volume). We are using this form which will line up ultimately with the rest of our analysis.

[16] The rule responsible for shifting the high tone in this form, in fact, operates before PD (42), but to simplify the derivation here we present it this way. The tone rule in question will be discussed below.

[17] The failure of v deletion to apply shows that the vowel of the morpheme -vǒ- 'pl.' is underlying high tone.

[18] Note that Low Tone Raising does not feed High Tone Raising.

[19] We know of one form which ought to have undergone PD (42) but has not. Apparently because of a high tone on the potential victim vowel: maahótsé 'arrows', cf. maahé 'arrow'.

[20] The reader may have noticed that mótšéškė 'knife' has a devoiced penultimate indicating, by our analysis, an underlying obstruent final stem. But the plural form seems to indicate a stem ending in eh. This is not a problem for our analysis because there is a rule which truncates certain morphemes when they occur word finally. We know of three morphemes that undergo this truncation. They are: ehkeh 'diminutive' (truncates only in inanimate nouns), -ate 'lst pers. acts on 2nd pers.', and -xena 'lie, fall' (AI verb final). Examples are given in (75).

(75)	(a)	mótšéškė	knife	/UL mót-ehkeh/ Truncated
		mótšéškehótsė	knives	/UL mót-ehkeh-ot/
		má?tšéškė	bow	/UL má?t-ehkeh/ Truncated

	má?tšéškehótsé	bows	/UL má?t-ehkeh-ot/
(b)	né-vóomátsé	I see you (sg.)	/UL né-vóom-ate/ Truncated
	né-vóomatsehé?	do I see you (sg.)	/UL né-vóom-ate-he/
	né-vóomatsemé	I see you (pl.)	/UL né-vóom-ate-me/
(c)	é-tóxešé	he is parading	/UL é-tóxe-xena/ Truncated
	é-tóxéšenahé?	is he parading?	/UL é-tóxe-xena-he/
	é-tóxéšenao?ó	they are parading	/UL é-tóxe-xena-vo/

A sample derivation follows.

(76)	UL	é-tóxe-xena	né-vóom-ate	mót-ehkeh
	Truncation	é-tóxexen	né-vóomat	mótehk
	WFNOD (37)	é-tóxexe		
	PD (42)		né-vóomát	mótéhk
	Ep (43)		né-vóomáte	mótéhke
	Other rules	é-tóxešé	né-vóomátsé	mótšéšké

[21] In fact, a's may devoice slightly in this environment, but o's are much more devoiced.

[22] Thus there is a clearly audible contrast between the sequences eóhC [ɪyºóC] and ehóC [ɪẏóC]. This is borne out by our spectrographic studies as well.

[23] The authors are not yet in total agreement as regards the analysis, and terminology of some of the tone phenomena mentioned here. The term raised high is one of the points of disagreement.

An Analysis of Upper Delawaran Land Sales in Northern New Jersey, 1630-1758[1]

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Scholars have traditionally regarded Indian deeds as both frustratingly unreliable and impossibly vague. At the same time their crucial importance to ethnohistoric inquiry has also been grudgingly admitted. This research potential is especially great for northeastern Algonquian studies where the large number of surviving Indian deed manuscripts constitute an impressive portion of the available documentation. It is therefore surprising that few analyses beyond MacCleod (1922), De Valinger (1940-41), Wallace (1947), Jennings (1975), and Little (1976) have used deeds as the primary raw material of their research strategies. Even more surprising, recent scholarship incorporating Upper Delawaran data has not generated reexamination of the Indian deed basis of such earlier secondary sources as Bolton (1920). Investigators have been loathe to rely upon allegedly equivocal deed data to go beyond brief statements concerning the process of Indian land alienation, European real estate procedures, and Native land tenure concepts (Grinnell 1907, Cooper 1938, Synderman 1951, A.F.C. Wallace 1957, Wyler 1965). This lack of direct inquiry has facilitated the transformation of the question "why did the Native peoples sell the land?" into a given, thus allowing investigators to ignore deed data altogether. This has, however, left open a basic question of Indian ethnohistory, and at the same time, largely prevented scholars from tackling the further questions which follow from this basic one. Foremost among these, though well beyond the scope of this paper, concerns the reasons underlying past explanations for Native land sales.

The purposes of this paper are to: (1) briefly review and evaluate several traditional explanations for Native land sales behavior; (2) briefly present the pattern of Upper Delawaran land alienation in northern New Jersey between 1630 and 1758; and (3) propose an alternate explanation for Native land sales behavior.

Let me begin by delineating the Upper Delawaran culture province. It is a culturally discrete collection of Lenapé and Mahican speaking groups that inhabited the Middle Atlantic Region in what is now northeastern Pennsylvania, northern New Jersey, southeastern New York, and southwestern Connecticut. It is also an area unified by an intensive and ultimately successful intrusion by Europeans into the lower Delaware and Hudson River drainages, the Upper Delawaran heartland.

There have been many different opinions as to why northeastern Native American land sales took place. Usually, the preferred explanation has been that the

Native parties to the conveyances did not fully understand the meaning of the documents they affixed their marks to. A recitation of this popular explanation is almost like a litany, with constant repetition assuring widespread acceptance.

Grinnell (1907.1) stated that

> ...there is nothing in an Indians traditions or experience that enables him even to imagine the ownership of land by persons...

Trelease (1960.12) noted that while both parties usually acted in good faith

> ...they proceeded on different principles, and neither was able to recognize, much less concede, those of the other.

Most recently Esposito (1976.62) has written that

> It is not difficult to discern that the Indians, especially in the early encounters, could not have possibly known the implications of the agreements they signed. Words like "relinquish," "sell," and "forever release," used frequently by legalistic colonial authorities, were surely not understood by the Indians.

The concept that land was a gift, and could not be sold, has also thoroughly penetrated the secondary documentation. The concept has been used to fuel the fires of what can be called the "misunderstanding hypothesis," with Snyderman (1951.16-17) presenting it in its bluntest form in writing that

> ...the grants of land were viewed as gifts which could not be paid for...in currency - in short, there could be no land-sales as we know them.

Much of this misunderstanding has been regarded as the more or less innocent by-product of the Native-European collision. The greater number of scholars who have held to the "misunderstanding hypothesis" have accepted that the Native peoples ultimately caught on, with Weslager (1972.148) noting that by the 1670's

> the native mind must have been able to grasp the white man's concept of outright land sale, since there had been considerable friction over land matters for a number of years.

If the consequences of these transfers were not immediately known to the Native signatories, the next few deeds doubtless drove the point home. Such information travelled quickly through the Upper Delawaran groups, and misunderstandings of such magnitude could not have survived many signings. There is every indication that

the Native people would have either ceased signing the documents or significantly altered their terms had such confusion not been cleared up.

Most importantly, while Native peoples promptly discerned the meanings of the territorial bargains they struck, they exerted a no less powerful, if subtle influence upon the European buyers. The Native groups constantly prevailed upon them to periodically confirm their purchases with quantities of "gifts," and to reserve food getting rights upon the sold lands. Both of these practices are in strict accordance with the ethnographically recorded rules which Native Americans applied to exchanges generally.

A somewhat more sinister side of the "misunderstanding hypothesis" has also found a voice among both Native activists and scholars, Indian and otherwise. Debo (1970. 54) has claimed that Native peoples "were naturally guiless" and easy marks for dishonest land transactions.

Snyderman (1951.29) wrote that

> Whites...were initially welcomed and given places to live. However, when the Indians learned that the Whites would eventually dispossess them, the Whites were less welcome.

Benjamin Franklin told the visiting Swedish botanist Peter Kalm (1966:1.204) in 1748 a story meant to exemplify the fatuity of the Native peoples regarding land sales, saying

> ...that an Indian, who owned Rhode Island, had sold it to the English for a pair of spectacles ...this Indian knew how to set a true value upon a pair of glasses, for if they were scarce, they would undoubtedly on account of their great usefulness have the same value as diamonds.

And we have all heard the story of the selling of Manhattan Island for twenty four dollars on November the 5th, 1626. Such examples of Native credulity, while occasionally accurate, should be relegated to a much deserved place among all those other stereotypes which the dominant culture developed and propogated concerning subjugated Native peoples.

Some scholars have noted that accidental or deliberate mistranslations may have interfered with Native understanding of the terms of many land conveyances. Prince (1912) and Goddard (1971) have, however, brought attention to the widespread use of a trade jargon by both the Upper Delawarans and their European and Native neighbors. Created and utilized for international commerce and diplomacy, the jargon usually conveyed full understanding to the parties to the deeds. Duplicity, in the forms of altering the texts of documents, counterfeiting deeds, or repeated sale of the same tracts was quite another matter. Native proprietors, however, rarely sold identical areas to different European purchasers, though different

Native persons often claimed, and received compensation for identical tracts over a period of years. Legal documents and contemporary accounts indicate that fraud was often detected, and thus of relatively rare occurrence.

A large number of investigators have suggested that land was, or became, merely an article of commerce. Taking note of changes in Native ideology concerning land sales, Washburn (1975.79) noted that

> ...Indians came increasingly under the influence of European concepts of price as a function of scarcity and began to savor the attractions of individual material income in a money economy in contrast to the traditional psychic income of a sharing and bartering economy.

Jennings (1965.8) took a more extreme materialist viewpoint, writing that

> in the traffic which thus came to dominate their economy, the Indians were limited to supplying the commodities desired by the whites. Apart from occasional personal service, the Indians' only commodities of value were peltry and lands.

Other scholars have expressed the belief that land had always been subject to pecuniary interests. This view suggests that Europeans were swiftly and rather neatly absorbed into an ongoing land market run by Native real estate brokers. MacCleod (1928.18) stated that

> the owner might rent out a part of his land for a share of its yield. He might sell it, buy more, or give it away. He might gamble it away.

While this "pecuniary hypothesis" does go far in explaining land sales behavior, it still cannot account for either the high value Upper Delawarans placed upon the soil or the consistently cheap prices settled for it in the land conveyances. As for the severe paucity of marketable commodities alluded to by many investigators, the Upper Delawarans possessed many sources of income beyond pelts and land. Further, depopulation and changes in internal status hierarchies made more wealth available to those that remained. The measured pace of Upper Delawaran land sales outlined later in the paper does suggest that desire for goods was an important factor, but it also demonstrates that such desires were limited and controlled.

Another group of investigators has declared that the Native people gave land, or sold it cheaply, as a gesture of friendship, high regard, or, at worst, pity. P.A.W. Wallace (1945.96) wrote that

> ...in the days of Indian occupation, when men

> shared land as they shared the winds of heaven ...the men who signed (the deeds) were easy going gentlemen of the woods, and took no thought for the morrow.

Wallace went on to note that this view changed dramatically by the early eighteenth century.

Perhaps Wyler (1965.4) phrased the "friendship hypothesis" most graphically when she stated that

> ...the early purchases did not hurt the Senecas at all. The Indians admired William Penn and gave him all the land he wanted because at the beginning of the 18th century they had not yet begun to feel any pressure about there being enough land. All of their dealings with him were friendly, peace and land being exchanged for trinkets...During this (time) the English bought several large tracts of land but the Indians seem not to have been perturbed, and all they asked in exchange were beads and fabrics.

Neither world ethnography, nor the regional ethnohistorical documentation contain evidence of continual disinterested gift giving between two or more highly bounded groups. This argument seems to be anchored upon the opinion that land was not a valued resource among Native peoples, and was thus a prime article of altruistic gifting. The "friendship hypothesis" finds its second pillar of support in the idea that international relations between Native groups and Europeans were generally amicable. Both arguments are, of course, fallacious. Even while depopulation decimated the Native groups, land remained the object of prime consideration, with the European preoccupation for it perhaps increasing Native interest. As for peaceful relations, the records indicate a highly charged and often violent political atmosphere throughout the historic contact period, with litigations, murders, and wars punctuating the generally nervous tenor of international relations. Most importantly, while land was occasionally given away, the goods received for the lands, while relatively cheap, were still considerable enough. There was no love feast gift giving operation here.

A number of scholars have used the incidence of land sales to gauge the extent of the disintegration of Native society. Snyderman (1951.27) wrote that

> ...all Indian philosophy was foundering in the whirlpool created by the impact of crass materialistic motives against an idealistic and natural ideology.

Newcomb (1974.55), in his recent general discussion of northeastern Native American ethnohistory, stated that Native people

> ...were, in brief, no match for the agressive, well organized, commercially oriented, land hungry Europeans. Within a relatively few years the coastal Indians had been defeated ...driven from their homes-their ancient cultures corrupted by dependence upon their conqueror's economy.

Jennings 1975.145) put this idea most succinctly when he stated that

> ...the cession of his land was traumatic for himself and his society. Whether negotiated by diplomatic treaty or commercial contract, the effect of systematic dispossession cannot be overestimated...When the Indian was dispossessed of his land, he lost all hope of finding any niche in the society called civilized, except that of servant or slave.

Beyond the notion that Native people actually desired a niche within their conqueror's society is the strict Rousseauvian ethnocentrism of the holders of this "disintegration hypothesis." Upper Delawaran society successfully resisted civilized society for over one hundred and fifty years, somewhat lengthier than the abovementioned "relatively few years." The following analysis of some one hundred and forty Indian deeds[2] from northern New Jersey documents the impressive adaptation of the Upper Delawaran peoples to this European intrusion.

The one hundred and forty deeds have been broken down into the following discrete time periods.

1630-1670.....15 land conveyances
1671-1690.....59 land conveyances
1694-1710.....47 land conveyances
1711-1758.....19 land conveyances

They contain the names of individuals, leaders, speakers, interpreters, witnesses, territorial boundaries, settlements, communication routes, to name just a few items. Although the amount of manuscript materials here is formidable, it is far from being without difficulties. Dishonesty, naivete, and misunderstanding have all crept into the body of deed data. Many territories overlap, some have been repeatedly sold, and a substantial number of these have been the subject of lengthy litigation. Many place names of rivers, natural features, paths, and settlements, as well as the many large marked trees used to mark boundaries, have disappeared. Worst of all, many deeds and their allied documentation have vanished, leaving only tantalizing traces in the documentary calendars and in references in other manuscripts. Yet, with all this, the sheer bulk of the surviving deed corpus, coupled with extensive manuscript records, permits the drawing of balanced, documented conclusions about the reasons for land sales. Each document has been subjected

to strict scrutiny for constant quality, and the above-mentioned one hundred and forty Indian deeds have thus far made the grade. These Indian deeds permit the reconstruction of both a fascinating and tolerably reliable pattern of Upper Delawaran land sale behavior.

A look at the accompanying map reveals that very little land was purchased by the Dutch and succeeding English populations between 1630 (the date of the first deed) and 1670. These bounds almost exactly conform to those of European settlement during the same period. Deeds signed between 1671 and 1690 extended European title further up the major river drainages, leaving large areas beyond them in Native hands. Powerful leaders, such as Wequahela of Monmouth County and Taphow of the Hackensack basin, alienated large portions of these territories between 1694 and 1710. They did not sell all their lands, however, and continued to sell tracts in northern New Jersey from their enclaves within the purchased lands from 1711 to 1758. Little beyond deeds for very small tracts has survived for the lands north and west of the Musconetcong River drainage. Title for this area, and for the rest of northern New Jersey above the Raritan River drainage, was finally obtained by the English at the Easton Treaty of October 21-26, 1758.

The pattern of Upper Delawaran land sales was deliberate, methodical, and controlled. This pattern clearly indicates that any explanation relying upon the idea that Native peoples acted regardless of their own perceived best interests is at best questionable.

Further, alienation did not necessarily mean vacation. A significant proportion of the deeds simply preempted lands for particular purchasers, while many later documents specifically reserved small plots for housing and farming. Many others guaranteed continued food getting and other resource extraction rights for those still living on or near sold lands. At no time were lands sold in a scattered or random fashion. Many Native groups refused to either relinquish desired lands or limited the bounds of the tracts sold to the Europeans. The Reading journal of 1715 makes repeated reference to Native people in the Musconetcong and upper Delaware rivers refusing to allow surveying teams to mark off their lands lest such measurement be taken as an agreement to sell their unpurchased land holdings in those areas (Reading 1915:1-3).

Only those lands abutting upon already alienated tracts were sold by the Native proprietors. Individuals noted as group leaders consistently signed deeds; if they did not possess full political power, the indications are that they uniformly represented the wellsprings of that power. Confirmation deeds were continually negotiated by the signatories, and gifts sealed the validity of both grantors and grantees claims. Further, the prices both offered and received for the lands were unfailingly inexpensive. And finally, the procedure of land alienation has indicated that the Upper Delawaran groups remained in their lands upon the completion of the last of the sales, corroborating

the testimony of other contemporary manuscript sources.

This brings me to my main point. The sheer survival of a numerically small and technologically out-classed Native population under direct assault by an overwhelming foreign power is a rare enough phenomenon. The successful retention of both lands and the socio-political wherwithall to maintain their geographical integrity over a contact period stretching for over one hundred and fifty years is even more remarkable. Yet, the Upper Delawaran populations in northern New Jersey managed to do just that. Just how they carried it off can be found in an interpretation of the land conveyences they signed with the European groups committed to their ultimate extirpation, and can coincidentally lead us to a new understanding of what may have really been going on between these contrasting cultural groups.

The Upper Delawarans, like most of the world's peoples, lived in a highly charged international state of armed peace. Not possessed of an effective inter-group polity, the Upper Delawarans waged war and peace upon both each other and other Native peoples in bewildering combination. European entree into this arena simply added more players and complexities to an ongoing state of socio-political affairs.

Alliance insured survival, and was cemented by both proof of military competence and in the giving of gifts to display affection and trust. Military viability was evidenced in both displays and actual combat, while gifting further defined and established the alliance bond. The amount and quality of the gift was not only related to changes in the relationship between groups, but was also the measure of a group's position vis-à-vis its allies and enemies. Mauss (1967.72) phrased this concept most clearly in his classic work, The Gift, when he stated that

> to give is to show one's superiority, to show that one is something more and higher...To accept without returning or repaying more is to face subordination, to become a client and subservient.

The Upper Delawarans swiftly realized that open war against the Europeans was at once futile and self-destructive. The disasterous defeats sustained during the Governor Kieft Wars of 1640-1645 and the Esopus Wars of the 1650's and 1660's savagely brought this point home. Epidemics, out-migration, and warfare with powerful interior Native groups (i.e.; the Susquehannocks, Senecas, Mohawks, and the Algonquian speaking Mahican) drastically depleted Delawaran numbers, gravely threatening their continued existence as discrete socio-political entities. They faced this military problem by adopting the semi-tough stance; acknowledging military inferiority, while assuring potential enemies that they would sell their lives dearly.

They faced their socio-political problem through the continual sale of carefully chosen small tracts of land at cheap rates. These bought both the gratitude and

forbearance of the land hungry Europeans. The Native peoples understood that so long as their leaders made portions of desired land available, other more costly means of territorial aggrandizement would not be practiced. Land thus furnished the political capital essential for continued survival. If the bargain rates for their land did not buy them superiority, it did at least enable them to remain in their homelands for over one hundred and fifty years. It was a cheap price to pay; continued occupation of their home territories bordering upon and sometimes surrounded by European held lands was invariably considered preferable to incorporation and socio-political oblivion among foreign groups in distant lands.

Brasser (1971.73) alluded to this phenomenon, designating the first half of the seventeenth century as

> a period in which colonial authorities cautiously played a game with powerful Indian politicians.

He went on to state that the tables were turned against the coastal Native polities by mid-century. In point of fact, however, the pattern of alienation in the Upper Delawaran culture province indicates that autonomy was maintained well into the eighteenth century.

This process of land alienation was consciously and skillfully employed by the Upper Delawaran groups. This does not mean that there was a full appreciation of the entire procedure, or of its long term ramifications, by either the Native grantors or the European purchasers; only that this was the dynamic in operation.

An example of this occurred on October 31st, 1679, when the Labadist Jaspar Danckaerts (1941.88), then in the Fort Hamilton section of Brooklyn was visited there by

> ...several Indians, who lived upon and owned the very land we had intended to visit (at Passaic, New Jersey)...They manifested pleasure at our wishing to visit them, and examine their land...

Significantly, after meeting with Danckaerts, and obviously approving of him, the Indians said

> ...they were in hopes we would come and live on their lands, where we would always be good nitaps (friends).

These chiefs, upon hearing of Dankaert's interest in their lands, travelled over fifty five miles to meet with and measure their potential neighbor. These Upper Delawaran advance-men fulfilled their responsibility to their people by exerting a degree of control over those Europeans they would invite onto their territories. The pacifistic Labadists were undoubtedly seen as almost ideal neighbors, hence their open invitation.

The Delawaran leader Teedyuscung best phrased this situation at the treaty of Easton on November 8-16, 1756, very near the moment when the Upper Delawaran--European

alliance was drawing to a close. When pressed by Governor Denny of Pennsylvania for the reasons for his people's hostility toward the English (this in the midst of the Seven Years, or French and Indian War), he stated (Annoymous n.d. 7-8) that

> Tho' I have Sometime Sold Land for a few ~~Trifles~~, Pipes, or Cloathes, & lyquor, & Such like trifles, which in a night are broken and gone, yet I look on the Bargain as good; but I expect I should not Therefore be ill used but when I have Sold great Tracts of Land at unreasonably low rates, to ye English, far below what any person would allow to be their value & have borne this with Patience, they say ye Indians are fools, but we are not so great fools, as not to bear this in mind; farther I would remind you. nothwithstanding ye props. have purchased ye lands so cheap, yet he sells them again to dear to the poor people, that they do not use ye Indians well & think they owe us nothing, now (8) he has bought ye lands so Cheap it would be prudent in him to have let ye People know that & to have Sold them ye Game lands Cheaper, than he has done...Besides when you have bought ye land so Cheap of our forefathers, you will not now allow us to Cut a little wood to make a fire, & hinder us from getting our livelihood by Hunting.

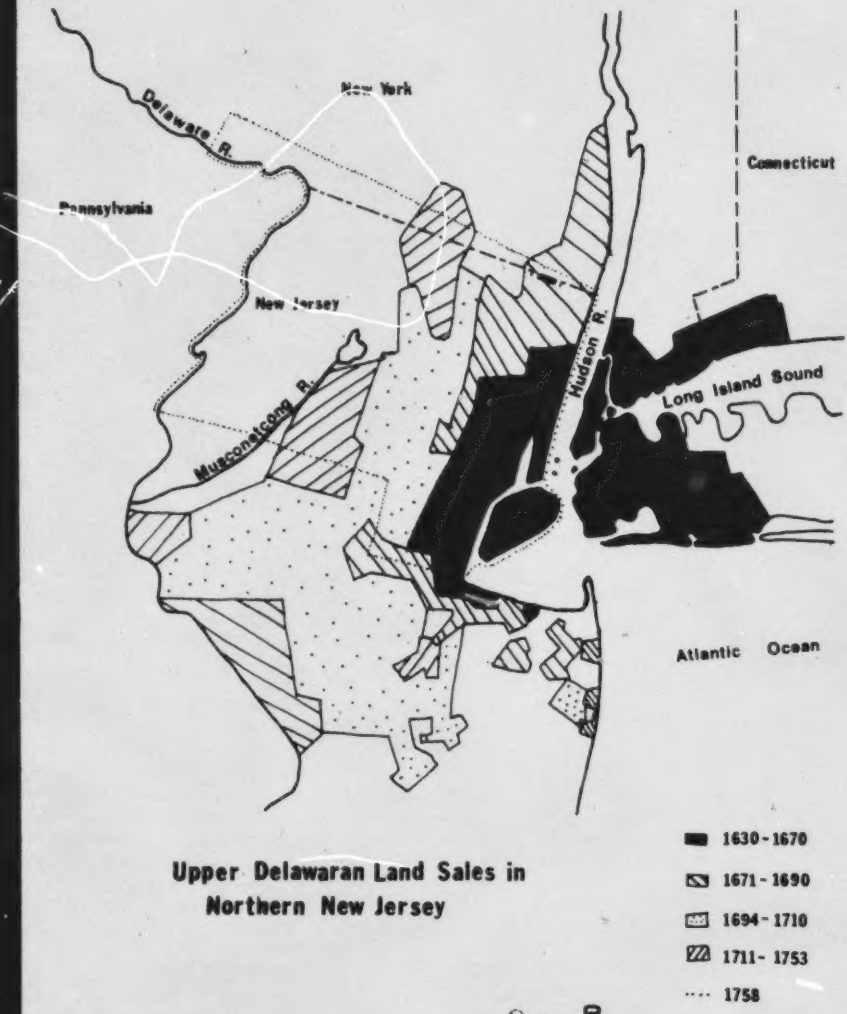
While the strategy of land for security ended for the Upper Delawarans of northern New Jersey at Easton, use of it by other groups, at other times and places, continued throughout the European-Native American historic contact period. Further examination of land sales as a socio-political behavior is called for. Such investigation should lead to increasingly incisive and revealing perspectives on this side of Native American culture change.

NOTES

[1] I am indebted to Melburn Thurman, William Powers, Donald Sinclair, Francis Jennings, and Mark Dornstreich for their criticism of this paper. Funding for this research has been provided by a New Jersey Historical Commission Grant and National Science Foundation Dissertation Improvement Grant, NSF BNS77 11590. An especially significant obligation is acknowledge to Mary Lou Ganim.

[2] The deed manuscripts have been collected from the liber volumes of the East and West Jersey Proprietors located in the archives of the New Jersey Library in Trenton, N.J., the Stevens Collection papers and other materials on file in the New Jersey Historical Society Library in Newark,

N.J., the Special Collections of the Alexander Library, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J., the Mercer Museum in Doylestown, Pa., and the New York Historical Society Library, New York, N.Y.



Upper Delawaran Land Sales in Northern New Jersey

Ethnology in the Works of Rowland E. Robinson

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National Museum of Man

The ethnohistorical literature on the Western Abenaki is not as abundant as we would like, and it exists in scattered documents, some of them difficult of access. I have remarked on this before, but I need to say it again to justify this paper, which presents the contribution of one man who, on the face of it, is a very unlikely source.

I refer to Rowland E. Robinson, a Vermont farmer of Quaker stock, who is best known to those who know him at all for his word sketches of nature and of life in the Champlain Valley a hundred and twenty-five years ago. Robinson first broke into print with a historical sketch of his native town of Ferrisburgh in 1860, when he was 27 years old. He had a natural gift for drawing, and over the next several years he made illustrations, mostly of nature subjects, for such magazines as The American Agriculturist, The Rural New Yorker, and Hearth and Home. In 1870 he wrote and illustrated his first article, one entitled "Fox Hunting in New England," for Scribner's Magazine, and followed this by other articles for Century Magazine, Lippincott's, The Atlantic Monthly, and especially for Forest and Stream. The writing for which he is best known commenced only in 1885 with a little booklet entitled Forest and Stream Fables. He followed this with three books, and then in 1893 he became totally blind but, according to his daughter, Mary Robinson Perkins (Robinson 1936a.11-18), continued to write until his death in 1900.

I am not presenting Rowland Robinson to you as a writer, however. There are those who argue that, considering their descriptive nature and the simplicity of the plots, his writings are not even literature. Still dissertations have been written about him, and there does exist a seven-volume Centennial Edition of his works with analytical and laudatory forwards by some dozen literary figures (Perkins 1934-37). Robinson's interest for us lies in the observations which he made and recorded on the Western Abenakis who were summer visitors to his home town and its vicinity. These observations were never made the subject of a book. Rather they appear as fragments scattered through the history and fiction of his forty productive years, and those bits which appear in his fiction appear to be as true as those which appear in his history, just as his descriptions of the landscape are not less true for appearing in a story. As one commentator, Edward D. Collins (Robinson 1934a.5), wrote, "There is so much history in Robinson's stories and so much story in his history as to make it difficult for a reader to draw a hard and fast line between them on mere grounds of factuality."

Here we are only interested in the ethnological content of these scattered observations and in how much trust we can put in them. No one has ever questioned Robinson's

intellectual honesty and there seems to be no reason to do so now. We need only to ask whether he had the opportunity to witness the things he wrote about and how good an observer he was. Even this would be unnecessary for an audience which was familiar with his works. Both points are so well established that no one has previously thought it necessary to query them. Everyone has agreed on Robinson's unusual powers of observation. Julia C.R. Door (Robinson 1934b.10) wrote, "Few persons ever see so much as did Rowland Robinson." His daughter wrote (Robinson 1936a.14), "...as if their owner felt, in some unfathomed way, that they could not last out his lifetime, his eyes watched diligently the wild-life of woodland and marsh, of field and stream...his eyes were quick to note the signs of nature's moods, and because they had been trained to look at form and color these left indelible images on the brain...(when he became blind) the eyes that had seen the minutest detail of tree and bush, of bird and animal had sent to the brain a faithful image of each; and now that those eyes were sightless the pictures were there to be written down and made living for their readers." We could multiply testimonies, but the really significant point was made by John Spargo (Robinson 1936b.6): "The work needs no certification. It bears within itself the sure and indubitable evidence of its authenticity...We do not need to verify its details by labored research."

Did he know the Indians? According to Collins (Robinson 1934a.13): "Almost every year small bands of St. Francis Indians...camped about Vergennes," Vergennes being at the first falls of Otter Creek and close to Robinson's home. In his geographical essay entitled Along Three Rivers, Robinson (1934a.28) writing about Lewis Creek said, "I remember visiting with my grandfather a camp of St. Francis Indians, in a piney hollow that divides the south bank." A footnote in his historical sketch of Ferrisburgh, (Robinson 1867.31), written in 1860, proves that he was already acquainted with John Watso, the Abenaki Indian who became his principal informant. His letter to Manley Hardy of Brewer, Maine (Eckstorm 1941.67), implies that he was still in touch with this informant in 1896. Such direct testimony does not need support, but again Robinson's own work confirms it. The Indian characters whom he introduced into his stories bore family names which were current in the St. Francis band in the 19th century, names like Wadzó, Takwsés, and Otodosán. When he described such activities as the pounding of ash logs, the use of the crooked knife, the making of splint baskets or a birch bark canoe there can be little doubt that he witnessed these activities. His list of Abenaki place-names are often the same names which modern Abenakis give to places in the Champlain Valley and, where names have changed, Robinson's names are still identifiable from their English translations, showing that he had his names from Indian informants.

Not only was Robinson an exceptionally keen observer but he had an unusually good ear for dialect. He reproduced faithfully the old west-of-the-mountains Yankee speech of 1840; the speech of escaped slaves whom he knew from the

circumstance that his father's farm was one of the stations on the underground railroad; the speech of Irish immigrant laborers and of French-Canadian refugees from the Papineau Rebellion; and the English of the Abenaki Indians who visited the Champlain Valley.

So assuming that Robinson's credentials are good and that his Indian observations were as accurate as we know his observations of nature and local characters to have been, what is the extant of his ethnographic record? It is, unfortunately, rather limited. It consists of some origin myths, some place-names, and some observations which help us to date particular phenomena in the history of Western Abenaki culture.

Perhaps his most important myth is a Transformer type tale relating the origin of maple sugar (Robinson 1896). This should be considered in the continuing debate about the aboriginality of maple sugar making. Another Transformer tale explains the creation of the first falls of Otter Creek at Vergennes (Robinson 1936a.114-116). His other myths are lesser tales of animal transformations. I have tried to get Abenaki language versions of these myths, but none of my 20th century informants knew the stories. This is not an adverse comment on the authenticity of the myths, since the ninety-odd tales I have are obviously only a fragment of the old lore. The following is given as an example of Robinson's myths and of his transcription of 19th century Indian-English. It can be called "How Mink Got Black" and is taken from the book Sam Lovel's Boy (Robinson 1936b.61). Little Sammy had been teasing "Mr. Tocksoose" for a story and was rewarded with the following:

> You see, Wonakake--dat's otter--got mad 'cause mink ketch um so many fish, so he chase mink for kill it, an' mink pooty scare. He all white then jus' same weasel in winter, so otter can see it great way off; an' mink can't hide. So he run in where fire burn tree an' rub hese'f on burnt tree so he all black. Den he turn roun' an' walk back, an' by'm by meet otter run hard. Otter ain't know dat black feller, an' ask it, 'You see mink go dis way?' Mink say no, he an't see it. Otter t'ink funny he can smell mink but can't see it, an' run on fast, but never ketch um mink. Mink like um color so well he always keep it, an' ketch 'em more fish as ever, 'cause fish can't see um so easy, an' so he be black now."

In recounting the young Robinson's search for materials for his history of Ferrisburgh, Edward D. Collins wrote (Robinson 1934a.9-10), "He even sought out the Indians, some of whom lingered in the famous hunting and fishing grounds of their ancestors, and from them secured and preserved the Waubanakee names of some of the Vermont mountains, local streams tributary to Lake Champlain, and points along the lake."

Robinson has left us about twenty-five place-names. Probably he could have collected many more as he wrote (1934a.

222), "There was no end of significant Indian Names." They are scattered throughout his writings, but Walter Hill Crockett (1921:2.68-70) published a list of 19 in his history of Vermont. With a few exceptions, Robinson's place-names are quite intelligible and the representation is about as close as he could be expected to make in an English orthography. For example, for senigánitékw he wrote Sungahneetook; Wázwategwák he wrote Azzusatuquake; nitámi pontékw he wrote Netahmepuntook. If we were to judge by Crockett's list alone, it would appear that either Robinson's well-known ear for language or the phonetic potential of his English orthography failed him at times. The printed list, however, shows some obvious misprints, probably the result of misreading the original handwriting. For example, lower case n is sometimes printed as u giving menahau for 'island' instead of Abenaki menahán, and capital S appears sometimes as capital L even in English words, giving Ladelle Mountain for an Abenaki name which means Saddle Mountain. Crockett used a list compiled by Robinson and his nephew, Dr. William G. Robinson, which I have not been able to find. This list might be expected to vindicate Robinson's recording. The glosses of his place-names are apparently those of his Indian informants, since there is no indication that he had any real knowledge of the language. That he had heard it and admired the sound of it is apparent in more than one place. He has the woodsman, Sam Lovel (Robinson 1937.231), say, "I tell ye, their'n's the language tu talk in the woods. It don't make no more noise 'n a little brook a-runnin', 'n' I don't b'lieve 't 'would skeer a fox." In another place Robinson (1936b.58-59) wrote, "...after he had spoken to them in their own language, whose soft monotony fell in with the babble of the brook and the murmer of the wind in the trees as harmoniously as if it were but another voice of nature."

Other odds and ends can be gleaned from his works. His descriptions of splint basket makers, apparently in the 1850's strengthens the tradition I found among the older Abenakis at Odanak that commercial basket making commenced about 1850 or 1860. He gives us the clearest statement we have that the St. Francis Indians (or at least part of them) called themselves Sokwakis (Robinson wrote it Zooquagese) together with their explanation of the name (Robinson 1892. 34).

We see Rowland Robinson then as a writer who, quite incidental to the main purpose of his fiction and as little more than a footnote to his historical writing, has given us a limited but valuable account of the Abenakis who visited the Champlain Valley in the middle and late 19th century. Even though we should prefer to have more, this much is very welcome considering the sparseness of other information about the Abenakis of this time and place.

The Red and Blue Drum Comes to the Delaware

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The Drum religion or Dream dance is a ceremonial complex well known to students of Central Algonquian and Southern Siouan tribes. It is basically a variant of the ceremonial Hethushka, Omaha, or Grass dance of the Prairie tribes (cf. Wissler 1916; Fletcher and La Flesche 1911: 459-480; Howard 1965a: 106-109) which has been converted from a warrior society into a religion by the addition of religious elements. Some of these are direct borrowings from White Christianity. Others are reinterpretations of older aboriginal elements given a Christian interpretation in cultural syncretism. For example the "crow belt dance" of the old Hethushka ceremony became the "angel dance" of the Drum religion, and the "whip man" of the older ceremony became the Drum religion's "staffman" who symbolizes Christ (Clifton 1969: 90).

Minnesota Ojibwa and Kansas Potawatomi informants gave me the same origin legend for the complex. According to this the Drum religion had its inception during one of the final campaigns of the Indian wars when a Dakota girl, who was pursued by the U.S. cavalry, saved herself by hiding among the reeds in a lake for several hours. At the end of this period a supernatural figure appeared to the frightened and exhausted girl, told her to have no fear, and conducted her from her watery hiding place. First she was taken to what appeared to be a military camp and fed. Then she was escorted to a spot where she heard Indian voices singing and saw a beautiful Indian dance drum beaten by unseen musicians. Her supernatural guide, whom she now recognized as Christ, taught her the songs and ritual connected with the beautiful drum and instructed her to travel amongst the Indian people and teach them this lore. She was also advised to preach the doctrine of the Drum religion, which was that warfare amongst the various Indian tribes should cease, likewise warfare between Indians and Whites. Brotherhood and good will should prevail among all men, Indian and White.

Shortly after she had been restored to her own people the "Sioux woman", whose Ojibwa name Wananikwe translates "Tail feather woman", began her missionary work, teaching various reservation groups what she had learned in her vision. In line with the peaceful teachings of the religion her missionary efforts were directed toward the Ojibwa tribe, for generations the bitterest enemies of her people, the Dakota. She traveled widely in Minnesota and Wisconsin, accompanied by an interpreter and an entourage of Ojibwa converts.

Essentially the same origin legend as the above is given by MacCauley (1893: 338-340), Barrett (1911: 156), Skinner (1915: 175-176), Bloomfield (1928: 104-107), Densmore (1913: 143-144), and Slotkin (1957: 17-25). The historicity of the

Sioux woman is confirmed by Armstrong and Wentworth (1892: 156-160, also quoted in Slotkin 1957: 155). By a process of triangulation from the various Minnesota and Wisconsin Ojibwa accounts which tell of the advent of the Sioux Woman and from other details they give concerning her background one can say with certainty that she was from the Sisseton-Wahpeton division of the Santee or Eastern Dakota, and with almost equal confidence that she must have come from either the Sisseton, South Dakota, or Fort Totten, North Dakota, areas.

Although it was originated by a Dakota woman and based upon a Prairie area warrior society's dance, the Drum religion was soon remodeled by the Ojibwa, Forest Potawatomi, and Menomini converts into a distinctly Algonquian ceremonial. Thus, though the male dancers in the Prairie Hethushka customarily danced naked except for breechcloth, moccasins, and dance ornaments, the Central Algonquian Dream dancers were always fully clothed. The dancing itself also became more decorous, like that in the Midewiwin and Algonquian bundle ceremonies. The decorations of the drums and the regalia of the officers of course blossomed forth in gorgeous Central Algonquian style floral and zoomorphic design beadwork executed in the Woodland spot-stitch technique. Most of the groups which subsequently accepted the Drum religion were Algonquian speakers (Cf. Wissler 1916: 867). Except for the Kansa or Kaw all of the Siouan speaking tribes which adopted the complex (Iowa, Oto, Winnebago) are groups noted for their strong Central Algonquian acculturation. Today the tribes which still maintain the Drum religion are all Algonquian speakers.

The following list, I believe, includes all the tribes which practice the Drum religion at present or have practiced it at any time in the past, however briefly. In alphabetical order they are: Caddo (and quite possibly the associated Absentee or Caddo Delaware); Oklahoma Delaware; the Iowa of Oklahoma (Skinner 1926: 248) but not those of Nebraska; Kansa or Kaw; Kansas Kickapoo (Clifton 1969: 89-90) and a few of the Oklahoma Kickapoo but not the Mexican Kickapoo; Menomini (MacCauley 1893; Barret 1911; Skinner 1915; Densmore 1932; Slotkin 1957); Meskwaki or Fox of Iowa (Clifton 1969: 89-90); Minnesota and Wisconsin Ojibwa (Barrett 1911; Densmore 1913); Ontario Ojibwa; Ojibwa of Lac Vieux Desert; Michigan (Kinietz 1947: 98-108); Osage; Oto (Wissler 1916: 867); Roseau River band of Plains-Ojibwa (Howard 1965b: 17); Forest Band Potawatomi of Wisconsin (Ritzenthaler 1955: 159-161); Prairie band of Potawatomi in Kansas (Skinner 1924; Clifton 1969; Landes 1970, 240-288); the Sauk of Oklahoma (Skinner 1923: 51) but not the Sauk of the Missouri band in southeastern Nebraska; the Absentee Shawnee but not the Loyal or Eastern bands of that tribe; the Wichita (with the Caddo); and both the Nebraska and Wisconsin Winnebago (Radin 1923: 384). Curiously enough, the Drum religion never seems to have been adopted by any group of the Dakota or Sioux, the tribe of the religion's founder.[1]

In 1970, while visiting with my friend and informant the late Freddie Washington, an Oklahoma Delaware of Wann, Oklahoma, I learned that the Dream dance was practiced for

a few years by his group. This band of Delaware, the larger of Oklahoma's two Delaware communities, lives in Washington county in or near the cities and towns of Bartlesville, Dewey, Copan, and Wann. Since there seems to be nothing in the anthropological literature concerning the Delaware involvement in this famous revitalization movement, a brief history of their acceptance and ultimate abandonment of the Dream dance seems worthwhile, though it is based upon the rather shaky evidence of a single informant's testimony plus a photograph of the Delaware Dream dance drum and its equipment which he supplied. Freddie was never a member of the Drum religion, but his father, Joe Washington, was one of the principal Delaware adherents.

According to Freddie, the Delaware received their Dream drum directly from the Minnesota Ojibwa.[2] In 1880 or 1881, according to Freddie, a party of Ojibwa came to Oklahoma and presented the Delaware with one of the ornate red and blue drums, together with two sets of drum stakes, a ceremonial pipe, and a set of ornamented drumsticks (Plate I). The drum given to the Delaware may be identified as the type known as the "chief's drum" (okîma dewêigon in Ojibwa) by the presence of the four feathers standing erect in bone sockets on the curved stakes which support the drum (cf. Densmore 1913: 144-145, Plate 18).[3] It differs from most Dream dance drums in that it lacks the strip of otter fur and the beaded band with four pendant flaps around the upper part of the sides of the drum. What appear to be large Algonquian-style silver brooches attached to the cloth decoration on the sides of the drum take the place of this feature. The shorter drum stakes shown lying on the ground in the photograph are probably those used for hanging the drum when it was used for an ordinary "song service", while those from which the drum is suspended in the picture are those employed in the more important seasonal ceremonies. The hawk feather warbonnet with the long trailer is not a standard feature and was probably added to the drum regalia after its acceptance by the Delaware. I have published a photograph of Joe Washington wearing this headdress (Howard 1976: 26, Plate 44). Just barely visible under the singer's bench on the viewer's right is what appears to be the partitioned box used to store the tobacco offerings brought to the ceremony by members of the religion. The quilt covering this same bench is the "bed" or pad upon which the drum is placed when not in use, and the cloth on the end of the other bench is the covering for the drum when it is inactive.

A Delaware leader named James Shaw was the man honored with the gift and obligations of the drum. For this honor Shaw gave the Ojibwa delegation valuable gifts of horses, blankets, and cash. As required by the regulations of the Drum religion Shaw secured the assistance of a small coterie of relatives and friends, including the father of my informant, Joe Washington, and sponsored dances among the Delaware for about twenty years. Most of the Delaware Dream dancers were recruited from the conservative element of the tribe, a pattern usually found in other groups which accepted the religion. Among the Delaware this meant that

they also participated in the annual Big House or tribal thanksgiving ceremony, Doll dances and other "grease drinking" ceremonies, and the Iláwkan, the old Delaware War dance, a ceremony distantly related to the Dream dance.

The Dream dance never achieved much popularity among the Oklahoma Delaware. The reasons for its failure are not difficult to find. The Oklahoma Delaware have been noted throughout history for their factionalism and factions were particularly rife in the last decades of the 19th century. Acceptance of the Drum religion by one faction, therefore, would guarantee its rejection by others. The Dream dance was of course rejected by the orthodox Christian element of the tribe as a heathen abomination in spite of its many Christian features. Many conservatives probably rejected it because of its alien origin and also because it competed with older Delaware rites. Likewise James Shaw, the drumkeeper, was not universally admired by other conservative Delaware. T__ L___ herself of a conservative Delaware family and a regular Big House attendant, remembered Shaw as a "wife beater". She had, in fact, never heard of the Delaware participation in the Dream dance, which indicates that it never became a highly visible part of Delaware ceremonialism. About 1885 the Peyote religion was brought to the Oklahoma Delaware by Johnson Bob, Elk Hair, and the famous John Wilson (Moonhead). This gradually captured the interest of most of the conservative Delaware and undoubtedly served to lessen interest in the Dream dance, even among those who had formally espoused it.

Lacking a broad base of support, the continual sponsorship of seasonal dances by the small group of Delaware Dreamers undoubtedly became a financial burden to Shaw and his congregation. Fortunately the rules of the Drum religion provided him with an "escape clause". These state that after a respectable period, but no earlier than four years after the acceptance of a drum, it may be passed on to another tribe willing to pay for the transfer. The rules also state that in this intertribal transfer the drums should move in a clockwise direction, and for the Oklahoma Delaware this meant a tribe to the south and west. A suitable recipient group willing to accept the drum and to underwrite the expensive transfer ceremonies was found in the Caddo (and Absentee Delaware?) and Wichita near Anandarko, Oklahoma, and shortly after 1900 Shaw transferred his Dream drum to them.[9] This ended Oklahoma Delaware participation in the Drum religion, for they never accepted another drum from the north, though this would have been the customary thing to do. The advent of the Dream dance among the Delaware and its disappearance indicate the numerous factors involved in a Native American tribe's retention of a novel religion. These include the size of the group, degree of White acculturation, tribal factions, personalities of the leaders, and the cultural alternatives available.

The brief history of Oklahoma Delaware participation in the Drum religion is paralleled by its fate in other Oklahoma tribes. Clearly the Drum religion never achieved the success in Oklahoma that it still enjoys with Central

Algonquians in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Ontario, Iowa, and Kansas. It was apparently most successful among the Oklahoma Sauk, but in this tribe it was in continual conflict with the older seasonal bundle ceremonies and adoption feasts. In order to secure a following the Sauk drumkeeper recruited members from the neighboring Oklahoma Kickapoo tribe and from the "White Turkey" band of Absentee Shawnee (the old Thawikila division of the tribe). Skinner (1923: 51) reports that by 1922 it was beginning to die out, and that one of the Sauk Dream drums was even offered to him for sale that year. According to my informant Ed Mack, the son of the last Sauk drumkeeper, the Dream dance was given the coup de grace when the building in which the drum was stored burned to the ground about 1925.

The Oto had two drums, one which was transferred to them from the Prairie Potawatomi in Kansas. This drum is still kept by Kenneth Harragarra but has not been used since the death of his father many years ago. The second Oto Dream drum was the result of a vision experienced by William Fawfaw some time after the transfer of the Potawatomi drum (cf. Wissler 1916: 867). Fawfaw's form of the Dream dance was somewhat innovative and eclectic, involving prophesy, but failed to attract many followers among his own tribe. According to Louis Fawfaw, William's son, Oto participation in his father's version of the Dream dance ended when William transferred his drum to the Kansa tribe. The Kansa used it for a number of years, but when the "old people" in this little tribe died off, the younger members of the family of the Kansa drumkeeper sold the drum to an eastern museum.

Like the Sauk, the Iowa of Oklahoma were quite active Dreamers for a time, with one Drum religion ring three miles east and one and a half miles south of Perkins, Oklahoma, and another about two miles south of Carney, Oklahoma. Iowa participation in the Dream dance seems to have ended with the passing of the older generation shortly after World War I, and coincides with the increasing popularity of Peyotism in that tribe. Today older Iowa still remember their "old red drum" with nostalgia and respect, but the religion is totally defunct. According to Franklin Murray the Iowa drum, like that of the Kansa, was sold to an eastern museum.

Absentee Shawnee memories of the Drum religion are very dim, and one gains the impression that it was never in serious competition with the traditional ceremonial cycle in this ultra-conservative Algonquian tribe. Nevertheless Bill Johnson, an Absentee ritualist, was quite certain that the Little River Absentees (the modern descendants of the old Pekowitha and Kishpoko divisions) had once had their own red and blue drum, and believed that it had come to them from the north (Prairie Potawatomi in Kansas). The fate of this drum is not known by present day Shawnee.

Prior to 1907 the Osage received a Dream dance drum by way of transfer from the Prairie Potawatomi in Kansas. The Potawatomi considered the Osage likely prospects for the transfer of other drums since they were wealthy enough to pay for the expensive panoply involved in a drum transfer. The Osage leader who accepted the Potawatomi drum, however,

apparently did not understand what its ownership entailed, and began loaning the sacred drum out for use at ordinary secular powwows. When the Potawatomi learned of this they recoiled in horror, and all plans to transfer additional drums to Oklahoma were dropped. The Potawatomi have adhered to this prohibition ever since even though, through their acceptance of additional drums from the north, drums have continued to pile up on their reservation. Since 1907 they have acquired six drums, two from the Kansas Kickapoo and four from the Meskwaki in Iowa, far too many for the size of their tribe or Dream dance membership (Clifton 1969: 90).

NOTES

[1] I have in my possession an old photograph of a Nebraska Santee powwow in which a drum with the head apparently painted red and blue in the Drum religion style is being employed, but I have never head of this or any other group of Dakota attaching any particular significance to drums painted in this way. Perhaps the deep religious significance now attached to this painting by members of the Drum religion was developed to explain an already existing design by the Ojibwa and other Central Algonquian tribes or even originated with the Sioux woman herself. Certainly the beaded human hands often seen on two of the four beaded tabs on Dream drums, and now explained as "Christ's hands, when he handed us the drum" were formerly Prairie-Plains warrior insignia.

[2] Though Freddie said the drum came from the Ojibwa, one must not forget that his information is second hand. I would not be surprised to learn that though the drum itself was of Ojibwa origin, the actual donors were Kansas Potawatomi. Wissler (1916: 867) notes that the father of Samuel Bausell (Sam Bosily), a Prairie Potawatomi, made a strong effort to plant the Drum religion "among all Oklahoma tribes". I suspect that most of the Dream drums which reached Oklahoma were transferred there by the Potawatomi.

[3] Note that one of the black and white golden eagle feathers has been lost and is replaced by a hawk wing feather.

[4] None of the older Caddo or Wichita with whom I have visited know what happened to this drum, though some vaguely recall hearing of its acceptance.

[5] A few Dream dance songs are still sung by the Sauk on the last day of Ed Mack's annual Sauk Veteran's powwow, held on the Mack farm north of Shawnee, Oklahoma, each August. The daytime dances held on this final day of the event are clearly of a more religious nature than the other powwow episodes. The Dream dance songs are intermixed with ordinary powwow songs and are not recognized by most of the participants for what they are.

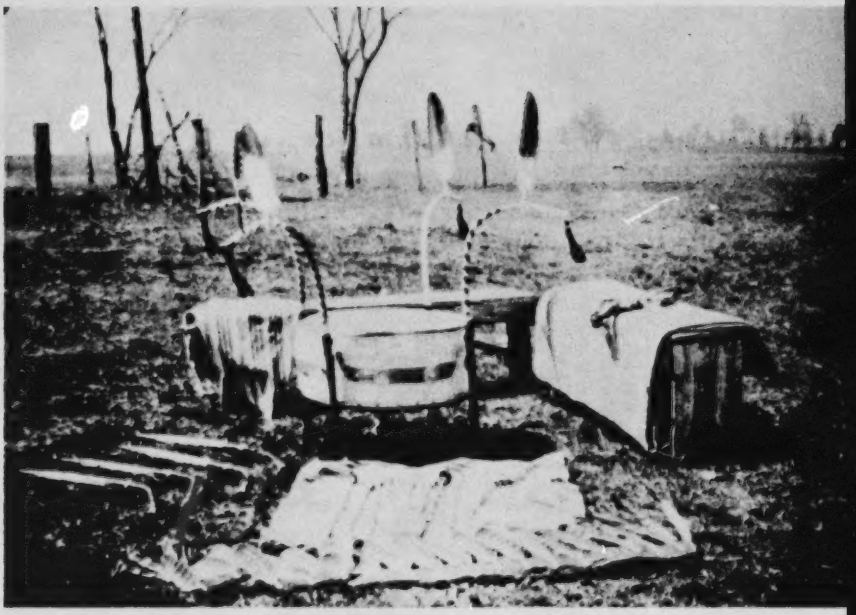

Plate 1. The Delaware Dream Dance drum and its associated equipment. (From an heirloom photograph owned by the late Freddie Washington)

Penobscot Country: Disagreement Over Who Lived There in the 17th Century Needs Resolving -- if Possible

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Introduction

It is my fond wish that this paper will start a meaningful dialogue between two opposing scholarly opinions among students of Wabanaki ethnohistory, by calling for help from both inside and outside the esoteric in-group.[1] Although I am partisan in this matter, I stand ready to change my current viewpoint if I can be shown sound enough reason to do so -- and I hope that other studiers of the Dawnlanders would do likewise. Heretofore, it appears that proponents of neither opinion have approached those of the other with resolution of this issue as an explicit goal, but the problem now is basic enough to my own future work to attempt an immediate parley. What better place to commence such interaction than at this Algonquian Conference? My presentation will be relatively short so that discussion can be relatively long.

The Issue

The place under consideration is the central Maine coast, the time is the seventeenth century (actually from ca. 1600 to ca. 1725), and the question is who lived there then.

I am one of those who accept the statements of Champlain (1613), Lescarbot (1618), Biard (1612), and others that the Etchemin lived on the lower Penobscot River-and-Bay then.[2] The consequences of my acceptance of these major ethnohistorical sources on this point include the following items:

1A) Western Etchemin (allied with Abenaki) fought against Eastern Etchemin (allied with Micmac) in 1607;[3]
2A) Bashaba (died ca. 1615) and Madockawando (died ca. 1698) were great Etchemin leaders;
3A) Meaningful use of the tribal name "Penobscot" Indians cannot begin until after Etchemin migration eastward and Abenaki regroupings crystallized, ca. 1725 -- caused by English force and French peruasion.

Admittedly, some of these consequences are "awkward," but (to my mind -- currently, at least) not so hard to justify methodologically as what I call the "Gordian Knot-cutting" approach of those of the opposing viewpoint: eliminate all awkwardness by denying the veracity of Champlain's, Lescarbot's, Biard's, and others' Etchemin statements. The consequences of denying these major early sources on this point include the following alternatives to the three just-mentioned items:

1D) Eastern Abenaki (= "Penobscot" and others) fought against united Etchemin (allied with Micmac) in 1607;

2D) Bashaba and Madockawando were great "Penobscot" leaders;
3D) Meaningful use of the tribal name "Penobscot" Indians can begin at least as early as 1600.

Besides evading a more complicated sociopolitical-military situation (compare Items 1A and 1D above), the major muddle completely avoided by the deniers, but encountered head-on by the accepters, is the transition from Western Etchemin to Eastern Abenaki peoples in the lower Penobscot River-and-Bay area (compare Items 3A and 3D above). The modern Penobscot Indians spoke a dialect closely related to that of the Abenaki, whereas it is the more easterly modern Passamaquoddy and Maliseet Indians who spoke dialects supposedly deriving from Etchemin. To assume (as I do) that a seventeenth-century Etchemin people occupied the lower Penobscot River-and-Bay thus requires their subsequent departure, and replacement by an Abenaki people. Such alterations are easily explainable, however, in terms of frontier dynamics. Another believer-of-the-early-sources (and Maine's first ethnohistorian), Fannie Hardy Eckstorm (1945: 73-83), has proposed what seems to me to be a very plausible detailed outline of this switch. Until something better comes along, I am willing to accept as a working hypothesis most of Eckstorm's outline of the probable ways and means of this necessary Etchemin-Abenaki transition, completed by ca. 1725.

The Task

Thus the Penobscot past lingers in scholarly dispute. The time period is too early to be relevant to the current Maine Indian land-claims legal case, but the unresolved problem hinders further academic work based upon Penobscot-origin assumptions. Currently, I[4] seem to be one of only two anthropologists directly concerned with the matter, although several past and present ethnologists, linguists, ethnohistorians, and historians clearly had or still have some interest, too. Thus, together with objective outside specialists, enough talent could be mustered to investigate this issue in depth.

Perhaps it will be found that (on balance) neither opposing viewpoint has more or less merit than the other, because of an absence of new conclusive "proofs." However, I hope that additional evidence -- especially historical linguistic data -- will help tip the balance one way or the other. For example, it might be partially decisive to discover which Amerindian language Madockawando was required most often to speak, as a sagamore on Penobscot Bay. Much fuller biographical information on this important man would be highly desirable in its own right, anyway, so the search would be self-rewarding.[5]

The Sources

There is no lack of explicitness in those earliest ethnohistorical sources in question here -- Champlain (1613), Lescarbot (1618), and Biard (1612) -- that it was the Etchemin who lived on the lower Penobscot River-and Bay;

they certainly cannot be denied for lack of clarity.[6] Regarding the nature of input upon which these clear statements were based, I (for one) can find no fault at all. Champlain was a first-hand visitor to the lower Penobscot River in 1604 (and he returned to the Bay on other occasions), and met and parleyed with native leader Bashaba. Biard also was an in-person visitor to Penobscot Bay in 1611; he too encountered Bashaba then and later. And while Lescarbot was not personally present on the Penobscot trips that he wrote about, he was close to those French officers who were. Indeed, Lescarbot serves as a good auditor of Champlain, implicitly verifying him by agreeing with his statement that the Etchemin inhabited the Penobscot area; certainly in some other matters, Lescarbot's considerable dislike of Champlain led him to point out with acidy relish whatever faux pas he felt that the latter had made, in either word or deed. Champlain occasionally reciprocated in this game, too.

In short, at the methodological level and in general comparison, ethnohistorical documentation is seldom much stronger than these three accounts taken together. To deny such straightforward statements surely requires a more scholarly reason than the mere expediency of avoiding the "awkward" consequences of accepting them at face value -- but I have not yet been made aware of any better reason than expediency. I see no reason whatsoever to believe that Champlain erred, and that the other writers blindly followed his mistake. As a matter of fact, although Champlain had the priority of actual visitation of the Penobscot area, he was the last of the three in date of his written account, which was in 1613, if one counts from Lescarbot's first edition of 1609, and considers Biard's date of 31 January 1612 in reporting to his Jesuit superior.

Summary

Two opposing interpretations of the Penobscot past stem from either accepting or rejecting certain statements of some seventeenth-century writers. Each approach has its consequences. By rejecting the statements, one totally avoids several complications. Some of the consequences of accepting the statements most assuredly are "awkward," but (to my current belief, at least) they are justifiable in terms of what I believe to be proper ethnohistorical methodology. Given my present bias, I am suspicious that the approach of denying the seventeenth-century statements of who-lived-where is too similar to that of the legendary biologist who angrily squashed the harmless bug which did not fit into his newly-completed Revised Taxonomy of Insects. However, if I am wrong, I wish to be corrected, and soon. This matter seemingly cannot be resolved one way or the other without help from other Algonquianists, and this paper is an appeal for your scholarly assistance. Without your help, my work and anyone else's will be weakened wherever this unsolved issue is basic to other matters.[7]

NOTES

[1] The TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION MAPS and CHART accompanying this paper represent only my approach of accepting the seventeenth-century statements of who-lived-where, and following their logical consequences. To view the issue in greater perspective, see Morrison 1977a.

[2] Explorer Champlain (1613.292, 297), referring to his own visit of 1604 (and he returned at other times, too), wrote: "So far as we could judge there are few Indians on this [Penobscot] river, and these also are called Etechemins [sic].... The tribe of Indians at Kennebec [Sagadahoc Estuary] is called Etechemins, like those of Norumbega [Penobscot River, more than fifty miles east]."

Lawyer Lescarbot (1618.2.277) wrote what he heard in 1606-07 at Port Royal (Nova Scotia) from those who had visited the area: "The nations between the river St. John and Kinibeki [Sagadahoc Estuary], a district comprising the rivers St. Croix and Norombega [Penobscot River], are called Etechemins; from Kinibeki to Malebarre [Cape Cod], and beyond, they are called Armouchiquois [an imprecise blanket term (not unlike "Latin Americans" today) that went out of use soon after Lescarbot wrote]."

Father Biard (Thwaites 1896:2.69), who visited the area personally in 1611, wrote: "To the West and north [of Port Royal], from the river of St. John to the river Potugoet [Penobscot River], and even to the river Rimbegui [Sagadahoc Estuary], live the Etheminqui [sic] .... From the Rimbequi river to the fortieth parallel the whole country is in the possession of the tribe called the Armouchiquois."

It is quite conceivable that the Western Etchemin gradually withdrew eastward toward "their" Penobscot River as the seventeenth century wore on, because later accounts do not actually refer to Etchemin near the Sagadahoc Estuary -- only as far west as Penobscot Bay.

Father Lalemant (Thwaites 1896:46.67), in the Relation of 1659-60, refers to "...the Abnaquiois Mission. This, beginning at the river Kenebki [Kennebec River], includes on its right [east] the Etechemins of Pentagwet [Penobscot River], together with those of the river St. John; and on its left [west] all those great Nations of New England that speak Abnaquiois...."

Father Morain (Thwaites 1896:60.263-265) wrote in 1677: "The Etechemins are a tribe of about 4 or 500 souls, as far as I can judge, whose country consists of 3 rivers... --namely pemptegwet [Penobscot River], pessemouquote [Passamaquoddy = St. Croix], and the River st. John.... Although they have but one language, it nevertheless has Some variation in proportion as they live Farther away from Here [Riviere-du-Loup (Quebec)]; and, as those of pemptegwet are nearer the Abnakis, their language also resembles that of the latter more closely.... Those of Pemptegwet are allied in war with the Abnakis against the English [King Philip's War Northern Front--see Morrison (1977b)]."

[3] Regarding this intertribal warfare, see Morrison 1975.

[4] Yours truly is Alvin Hamilton Morrison, Ph.D. in Anthropology from State University of New York Center at Buffalo, 1974 (Dissertation topic: Dawnland Decisions: Seventeenth-Century Wabanaki Leaders and Their Responses to the Differential Contact Stimuli in the Overlap Area of New France and New England). For both of our sakes, I am not to be confused with Kenneth M. Morrison, Ph.D. in History from University of Maine at Orono, 1975 (Dissertation topic: The People of the Dawn: The Abnaki and Their Relations with New England and New France, 1600-1727). Because we are of no known genealogical kinship connection (and were unknown to each other until common acquaintances introduced us), our kindred interests of peoples and century are that much more extraordinary.

[5] Madockawando's daughter was Baron Castine's wife. A much clearer picture is needed of the genetic and through-"adoption" parents of Madockawando and the sociopolitical ramifications thereof. Clarification of these matters would go far to help resolve the main issue of this paper. Careful attention to the concepts and principles of sociocultural anthropology, as well as to those of ethnohistory, would be sine qua non to the attempt to do a meaningful biography of Madockawando.

[6] See Note 2.

[7] See Note 1.

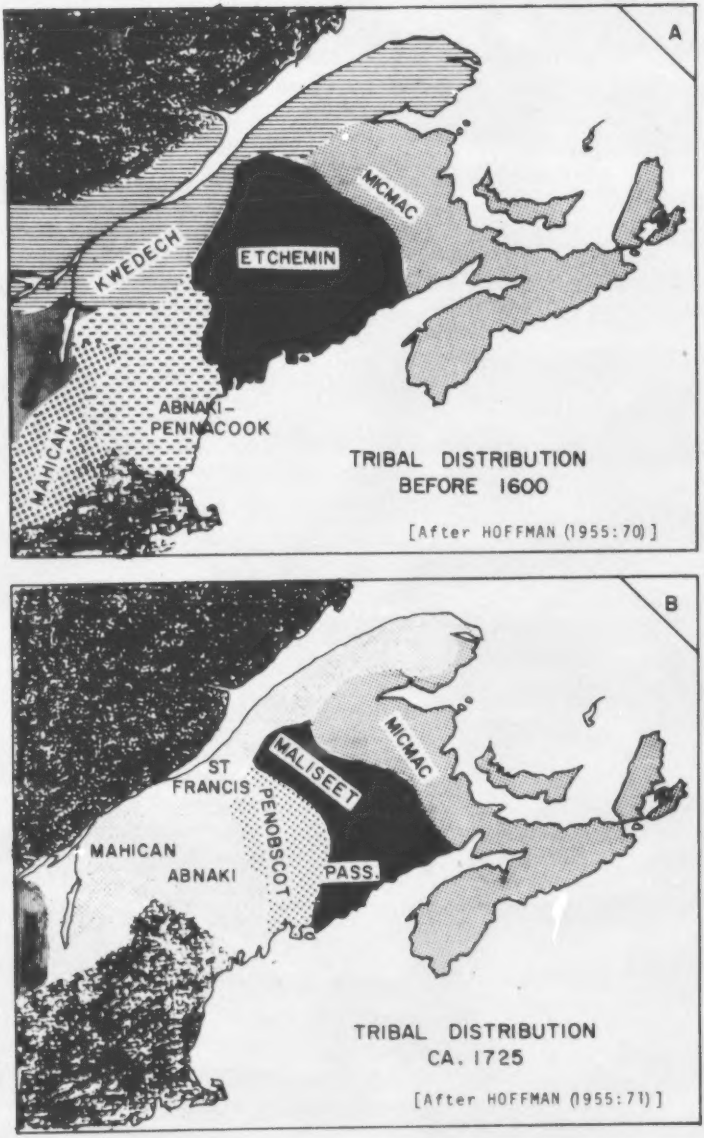
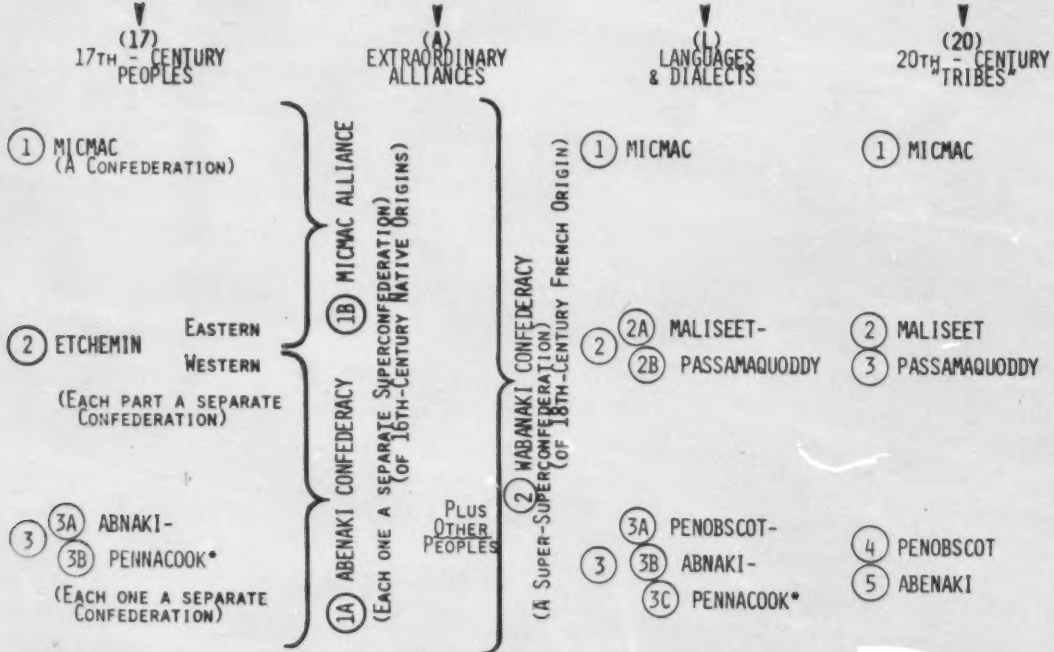

A
MICMAC
KWEDECH
ETCHEMIN
ABNAKI-
PENNACOOK
MAHICAN
TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION
BEFORE 1600
[After HOFFMAN (1955:70)]
B
MICMAC
ST
FRANCIS
MALISEET
PENOBSCOT
MAHICAN
ABNAKI
PASS.
TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION
CA. 1725
[After HOFFMAN (1955:71)]

Figure 1.

Figure 2.

THE WABANAKI OF THE NORTH-ATLANTIC SLOPE CULTURE AREA

(HUNTING-FISHING-GATHERING BASIC; MAIZE HORTICULTURE SUBSIDIARY WHERE PRESENT)



*NOT ALL OF THE PEOPLES OF THE PENNACOOK CONFEDERACY ARE MEANT TO BE INCLUDED IN EITHER ALLIANCES (1A) & (2) OR IN LANGUAGE (3)

LEGEND

1 Gaspe Bay
2 Bay of Chaleur
3 Restigouche
4 Richibucto
5 Gulf of St. Lawrence
6 Ingonish
7 Cape Breton
8 Canso
9 La Heve River
10 Port Royal
11 Bay of Fundy
12 St. John River
13 Meductic
14 Passamaquoddy Bay
15 St. Croix Island
16 St. Croix River
17 Mt. Desert Island
18 St. Sauveur Mission
19 Gulf of Maine
20 Penobscot Bay
21 Pentagoet (Castine, Me)
22 Kenduskeag (Bangor, Me)
23 Penobscot River
24 Monhegan Island
25 Samoset's Deed Area
26 Pemaquid
27 Cape Newagen
28 Popham (Sagadahoc River) Colony
29 Merrymeeting Bay
30 Kennebec River
31 Norridgewock
32 Androscoggin River
33 Cape Small
34 Casco Bay
35 Quacke/Yorke (Portland, Me)
36 Black Point (Scarborough, Me)
37 Chouacoet (Saco, Me)
38 Saco River
39 Wells
40 Cocheco (Dover, NH)
41 Oyster River (Durham, NH)
42 Merrimac River
43 Massachusetts Bay
44 Boston
45 Plymouth
46 Cape Cod
47 Squakheag (Northfield, Ma)
48 Connecticut River
49 South Royalton, Vt
50 St. Lawrence River
51 Montreal
52 St. Francis Mission (#2)
53 Three Rivers
54 Chaudiere River
55 St. Francis Mission (#1)
56 Sillery Mission
57 Quebec City

Figure 3.

L'algonquin du nord[1]

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1. Les dialectes algonquins[2] ont été classés comme membres du complexe ojibwais. Presque tous les renseignements que nous possédons concernant ces dialectes nous viennent des communautés méridionales dont Maniwaki, Mattawa, et Golden Lake. Le dialecte décrit par le Père Cuoq ressemble à toutes fins utiles à celui de Maniwaki. Ces dialectes se trouvent dans la région sud-ouest du Québec et chevauchent la frontière ontarienne le long de la rivière des Outaouais.

Les différences entre ces dialectes algonquins et ceux de l'ojibwais de l'est ne sont pas énormes. Elles consistent pour la plupart en des différences lexicales. Il y a certains points communs avec l'ojibwais du nord: la réalisation des terminaisons du conjonctif en č plutôt qu'en t; le système des démonstratifs; et divers aspects morphologiques.

On sait depuis longtemps qu'il y a d'autres dialectes algonquins au Québec, à savoir ceux de la région de l'Abitibi. Nous avons commencé l'étude de ces dialectes en 1975. Nous avons été tout de suite frappés par les différences que nous y avons trouvées. Ces différences nous semblent tellement importantes que nous nous sentons dans l'obligation de postuler une nouvelle classification dialectale. Nous proposons la scission des dialectes algonquins en deux groupes; l'algonquin du sud (les dialectes connus jusqu'à maintenant) et l'algonquin du nord. C'est ce dernier groupe que nous nous proposons de présenter dans cet article.

Les dialectes de l'algonquin du nord que nous avons étudiés se trouvent au Lac Simon (à un kilomètre de Louvicourt, juste au nord du parc de La Vérendrye), Grand Lac Victoria (dans le parc de La Vérendrye) et Pikogan (près de la ville d'Amos. Question d'ordre pratique, nous appellerons ce dialecte le dialecte d'Amos.) Ces communautés ne sont pas nécessairement les seules qui partagent le dialecte de l'algonquin du nord. Encore beaucoup de recherches seront nécessaires afin d'établir la portée de ce dialecte. Dans les paragraphes suivants nous décrirons les faits saillants de ce groupe dialectal.

Une des marques de commerce des dialectes du type ojibwais est la conservation du groupe consonnantique nasale-consonne. Or, dans tous les dialectes de l'algonquin du nord la consonne nasale se perd devant consonne.[3] En voici quelques exemples:

1) NC > C

Ojibwais	Algonquin du nord	Traduction
wāpank	wāb+k	demain
ninin̆č	ninī̆ī	ma main
tankīškaw	daqiškān	donner un coup de pied à qqn.

Ojibwais	Algonquin du nord	Traduction
wāpandān	wābadān	voir q.q. ch.
takoššink	dagošik	il arrive (conj.)
nīnawint	nīnɨt	nous (excl.)

Les radicaux nominaux se terminant historiquement _Cj ont été réanalysés en algonquin du nord. Ils se comportent comme des radicaux en -ī.

2) Ojibwais	Algonquin du nord	
ninińč/ninińčīn	ninijī/ninijīn	ma main/mes mains
assin/assinīn	asɨnī/asɨnīk	pierre/pierres
assap/assabīk	asɨbī/asɨbīk	filet/filets
apwi/apwīn	abwī/abwīk	rame/rames
šankop/šankopīk	žɨgobī/žɨgobīk	sapin/sapins

Dans tous les dialectes de l'algonquin du nord les radicaux AI se terminant par une voyelle brève prennent le suffixe -nan à la première et à la deuxième personnes du singulier à l'indépendant.

3) nimīkimonan	je travaille		nidākozinan	je suis malade
kimīkimonan	tu travailles		kidākozinan	tu es malade
mīkimo	il travaille		ākozi	il est malade

Le même suffixe se retrouve dans le paradigme des verbes TA à la forme 2-1.

4) kimīnižinan	tu me donnes
kidagiškānīžinan	tu me donnes un coup de pied
kɨgɨžɨgāmɨžɨnɨn	tu me regardes

Ce suffixe ne s'ajoute pas aux verbes AI se terminant par une voyelle longue ou une consonne.

5) ninibā je dors nidanokī je trappe nidagošin j'arrive

En algonquin du nord le locatif est - (i)kāg plutôt que le suffixe -ink que l'on retrouve en ojibwais et en algonquin du sud.

6) čīmānikāg	dans le canot	mīgiwāmikāg à la maison
nɨbāgɨnātɨgokāk	au lit	

L'algonquin du nord se distingue de l'algonquin du sud du fait que ce premier possède l'obviatif inanimé, c'est-à-dire les noms inanimés reçoivent une marque obviative quand ils apparaissent dans la même phrase qu'un nom animé de la troisième personne.

7) niwābadān	jīmān	je vois le canot
owābadān	jīmānini	il voit le canot
nigižizān	mīgiwām	je réchauffe la maison
ogižizān	mīgiwāmini	il réchauffe la maison

Il est à noter qu'un possesseur animé de la troisième personne ne peut pas déclencher l'obviatif inanimé. Il faut

que la troisième personne vienne d'un SN distinct.

Le suffixe du diminutif est aussi une caractéristique de l'algonquin du nord. Au lieu d'avoir des suffixes qui se terminent en -ns comme en algonquin du sud et en ojibwais, l'algonquin du nord utilise le suffixe -iš ~ -ɨš pour les noms se terminant par une consonne et -šīš ~ -šɨš pour les noms se terminant par une voyelle.

8) čīmān	canot	čīmānɨš	petit canot
mīgjōm	maison	mīgjōmɨš	petite maison
nɨbāgɨnātɨk	lit	nɨbāgɨnātɨgōšɨš	petit lit
ogɨmā	chef	ogɨmāšɨš	petit chef

Un autre trait distinctif de l'algonquin du nord est la fusion des verbes "pseudo-intransitifs" avec les verbes TI dans le deux premières personnes. Ces deux classes sont toujours distinctes à la troisième personne.

9) nɨmɨnēndān	je suis content (pseudo-I)	j'aime qqch. (TI)
mɨnēndɨm	il est content	omɨnēndān
		il aime qqch.

C'est ici que notre description des traits saillants de l'algonquin du nord prend fin. Cela ne veut pas dire que nous avons épuisé tous les éléments distinctifs de ces dialectes. Il est à noter que la plupart des traits décrits ci-haut ont bien l'air des traits cris-montagnais. La question d'une influence crise sur l'algonquin du nord nous semble très vraisemblable. Une collaboration éventuelle avec des ethno-historiens sur cette question pourrait être très fructueuse.

2. Ayant discuté les traits partagés par tout le groupe dialectal, nous passons maintenant aux différences qui se trouvent au sein de l'algonquin du nord.

Une des particularités du Lac Simon est l'emploi de la voyelle centrale haute ɨ (lire "i barré") qui provient de la fusion de ǐ et de ă. Si on compare les données d'Amos à celles du Lac Simon, à chacun des ă et des ǐ d'Amos correspond un ɨ au Lac Simon.

	AMOS	LAC SIMON	
10)	ogimā	ogɨmā	chef
	mitik	mɨtɨk	arbre
	kidamwōwō	kɨdɨmōwō	vous mangez [des pommes] (T.A.)
	kinōzi	kɨnōzɨ	[ma soeur] est grande (A.I.)
	tāškibuǰigan	tāškɨboǰɨgɨn	moulin à scie
	sanagan	sɨnɨgɨn	[mon travail] est difficile (I.I.)
	kiǰinagamowan	kɨǰɨnɨgɨmwɨn	[je veux] que tu chantes (A.I.)

Ce ɨ du Lac Simon provient-il vraiment de la fusion de ă et de ǐ? Pour le savoir on a soumis des informateurs du Lac Simon à un petit jeu: compléter une phrase dont le

premier mot se termine par la particule -nɨ, ce qui offre la possibilité de deux types de réponses. En effet, à Amos, la particule -na marque l'interrogation, tandis que l'obviatif inanimé est indiqué par la particule -ni. Au Lac Simon, ces deux indicateurs prennent la forme de -nɨ.

11) čīmān-na gɨgīwābɨdān — as-tu vu le canot?
čīmān-ni ogīwābɨdān — il voit le canot

En demandant de compléter la phrase čīmān-nɨ..., on vérifie si l'intuition du locuteur fait de -nɨ une particule d'interrogation ou un indicateur de l'obviatif inanimé. Nos informateurs complétèrent la phrase aussi souvent par une forme que par l'autre ce qui démontre bien que le ɨ résulte de la fusion de ă et de ĭ.

3. Nous avons relevé des différences assez marquées dans l'utilisation de la marque de l'obviatif entre le dialecte du Lac Simon et celui d'Amos. Voyons d'abord les cas où les phrases sont construites avec un verbe du groupe T.A. Dans ce cas, la marque de l'obviatif qui s'accole au verbe est toujours utilisée, et ce dans les deux dialectes.

12) Amos — pūšī onadawēnimān — il veut un [des] chat[s]
Lac Simon — odabɨǰɨān odābānākon — il utilise le[s] traîneau[x]

Par contre, dans le même type de phrase, l'utilisation de la marque de l'obviatif sur le complément du verbe diffère beaucoup d'un groupe à l'autre. Ainsi, dans le dialecte d'Amos, cette marque n'est utilisée que dans environ 50% des cas:

13) Amos — odābānāk odābaǰiān — il utilise le traîneau

alors qu'au Lac Simon, elle est toujours présente:

14) Lac Simon — onāǰīnan ogɨmān — il va chercher le[s] chef[s]

Dans le cas de phrases comportant un objet inanimé, celui-ci est le seul élément à prendre la marque de l'obviatif (le verbe ne la prend pas). Dans le dialecte d'Amos, son utilisation semble être une exception.

15) Amos — onadawēndān wābigwanīn — elle veut des fleurs

Tandis qu'au Lac Simon, elle est utilisée dans la très grande majorité des cas, (environ 80% des occurrences)

16) Lac Simon — odābɨštōn pāškɨžɨgɨnnɨ — il utilise la carabine

Ces quelques remarques sur l'utilisation de la marque de l'obviatif constituent plus un examen des tendances qu'une analyse précise du phénomène. Deux aspects de ces

"tendances" nous semblent cependant intéressants. Tout d'abord, il semble que la marque de l'obviatif disparaisse plus facilement sur un nom que sur un verbe; le "sens" de la flexion disparue est probablement plus facile à récupérer sur un nom complément (entre autre par l'ordonnance du complément obviatif par rapport aux autres compléments du nom) que sur un verbe.

D'autre part, il semble que la perte de la marque de l'obviatif se produise surtout dans le dialecte d'Amos. Or, alors que les gens du Lac Simon n'utilisent dans leurs relations interpersonnelles que la langue algonquine, les gens d'Amos utilisent autant le français que leur langue maternelle. Est-il possible que la perte de complexités morphologiques soient le fait d'une langue peu fréquemment utilisée? Cela reste une hypothèse à vérifier.

4. Nous avons noté des différences lexicales; en voici quelques exemples:

Amos	Lac Simon	
majaminan	mīnādɨsɨn	bleuets
wājān	mɨkīdāgɨn	fourrures
nābē	īnɨnī	homme
pūšī	pīžū	chat
anisībī	nībī	eau
mudābik	obōdā	bouteille
čībīžīšī	mokɨǰjɔnībī	source
kābē	psɨk	tout le temps
pākān	ŋgodɨžā	ailleurs
	anUč	
andasẅinehe	agonēn ... ēǰɨ	pourquoi

5. Nous laissons maintenant de côté les différences entre les deux dialectes pour souligner un problème qui nous semble intéressant. Nous avons en effet élicité plusieurs mots (tant à Amos qu'au Lac Simon) où l'on trouve un h d'origine inconnue.

On sait que, généralement, dans les dialectes ojibwais, si l'on retrouve un h, celui-ci est le résultat du développement historique du ?. Or, en algonquin du nord, on connait plusieurs mots dont on sait qu'ils comportaient historiquement un coup de glotte, mais qui n'en conservent aucune trace. Par exemple, maigɨn 'loup' qui vient de ma?ingan ou niwīǰia 'je l'accompagne' qui vient de ni-wīǰi?ā. Si donc ? devient ɨ en algonquin du nord, d'où vient ce h? Suivent quelques exemples de ces mots. On remarquera que nous n'avons élicité, jusqu'à maintenant, qu'une seule forme lexicale, et que tous les autres mots qui contiennent de h sont soit des interrogatifs, ou soit, majoritairement, des démonstratifs:

nom: āhāwē canard arlequin

interrogatifs: andasẅinehe pourquoi
andɨsīnehī combien, quel est le nombre

démonstratifs: haha(we)

hohosoedi
oho(wedi)
ihi(wedi)

NOTES

[1] La recherche présentée ici a été rendue possible grâce à des subventions de l'UQAM (FIR) et du Conseil des Arts du Canada (subvention 576-0654) pour étudier les dialectes algonquins.

[2] Nous proposons les termes algonquin(e) pour la langue et algonquien(ne) pour la famille linguistique. Ces termes figureront dans cet article avec ces significations.

[3] En effet, la seule citation que nous avons concernant ce dialecte mentionne ce fait: "The nasal was dropped in Fox... and the dialect of lake Simon and lake Abitibi in western Québec" Geary (1955.876-7). Nous tenons à remercier David Pentland de cette référence.

[4] Les données proviennent des réserves du Lac Simon et d'Amos.

[5] La seule exception que nous ayons trouvée est le suffixe de l'imparfait ban/banīk, et en ojibwais et en algonquin du nord.

Ethnographic Reconstruction of Witigo

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Following on my last year's satirical assessment of studies of the "Witigo psychosis" and of the structural analysis of Witigo symbolisms (Preston 1977), I would like to initiate a more constructive treatment of the notion. Some fresh Witigo data will be interpreted with the goal of surveying some Indian opinions, so that we may try to understand Witigo from within his cultural milieu before we proceed to explain his abstract relations to psychology, symbolism, structuralism, or other intellectual domains.

Narratives of Witigo's appearances and actions as well as particularist interpretations of the meaning of Witigo, are very numerous, and although we have one lengthy paper (Teicher 1960) that compiles and interprets many of these accounts, further comprehensive studies are surely overdue. My intention is much more modest, however, and I will be quite selective in my use of data.

Edward Ahenakew (ms) records an explanation by an old man named Weipust, in which the extraordinary aspects are deliberately omitted and dismissed as untrue reports. Weipust's stark and spare image deserves full detail, and so I quote Ahenakew's manuscript.

Ahenakew speaking:

THE-WE-TI-KOO or He-who-is-alone

Wetikoo (Windigo in Salteaux) is a being which is of nebulous character in the minds of most people. Short story writers have fantastic ideas about him. Some think it is a kind of Indian devil, one describes it as being of prodigious size.

The white man, who has not grown up with the Indians, cannot be blamed for his mistaken ideas, for most Indians he can converse with, are not capable of giving an elaborate explanation in English. Besides this, the Indians who can speak English, are usually the younger people and they themselves have a very hazy idea of the creature.

Wetikoo is not a devil not a demon; he is not a spirit disembodied, nor is he of prodigious size. At one time in his life he was a human being born of human beings and perhaps quite normal for some years of his life.

The reasons for a human being turning into a cannibal, i.e., Wetikoo, as given by the saner and more intelligent Indian men are these. I can do no better than to quote Old Weipust (Dirty-skin) a fine mannerly old man despite his name. I had asked him how Wetikoos came to be.

> "There is no doubt that Wetikoos existed in the old days. Frequently, specially in the forest

parts of the country there may be a family living in a teepee, the man hunting for fur and incidentally killing moose, deer and such for food. He might have an enemy somewhere. This man or woman--mahokusu-mik, i.e. curses him so that his luck leaves him, everything goes wrong, he can kill nothing, maybe the animals migrate to some other region.

He goes out to hunt every day, trying to feed his starving family and himself. Their plight becomes desperate. They are hungry and yet there is not a track, even of a rabbit anywhere within reach. Pangs of hunger cry aloud for food--a person will do almost anything to secure food.

As days of fasting go by; hope dies and despair takes its place. A time comes when one of the party begins to look longingly though slyly at another. This person is being sorely tempted to kill, so as to eat. It becomes an obsession with him or her. At last--chance offering, it happens. The person kills and soon he (or she) is eating. He has passed from being a human being to beastliness.

The rest of the family realizes that they have a Wetikoo to cope with. All that they have heard about such monsters comes into their minds. A great dread overwhelms them, the marrow inside the bones seems to melt and they have no power to move or fight. While they might have met ordinary dangers bravely, they were as frightened children in the presence of a powerful inhuman moster. They give in and very soon share the fate of the first victim.

Another reason why a person becomes a Wetikoo is due to his having in some way offended a spirit which may have befriended him in a dream and given him some powers; (as mentioned in another article). This would bring a curse on him. This would not take away from him the gifts he had received but they would only be a curse to him and others instead of a blessing.

Then again an evil spirit may come to him in his dream. Probably nothing about the spirit would appear in his looks and actions to show that he was another, but what he pretends to be is a benevolent spirit. The Indian accepts the gifts accorded him only to find later on, that he was living under a curse and that nothing good would come out of his life. Such an Indian may also turn into a Wetikoo. Such

were the reasons why this monster appeared amongst people--fortunately, very rarely did the Wetikoo actually exist. I should say, that, in my opinion, the majority of the reports spread around that he had been seen were untrue--many such reports are brought about by some mischievous minded Indian trying to frighten someone else."

Such was the reply Weipust gave me. He had been a pagan till he attained middle-age, then he had adopted Christianity. He was learned in the things that pertained to old time Indian life. Knowledge handed down from the past was his. I accepted his words as of great value.

To continue it is said that once a person has tasted human flesh he loses all human instincts he turns into a fierce carnivorous beast yearning to prey on his kind. He is gifted with supernatural powers and no one is able to withstand him except some person who is himself gifted with superior 'spirit help' and therefore more powerful. Such a person knows that he is so gifted and is willing to champion the cause of the band even at great personal risk.

End of Ahenakew's account.

Weipust has described for us in his example of starvation, the ordinary reality of Witigo, from the point of view of one wise old man; many oral tradition and archival accounts confirm this pattern. Perhaps Weipust's skeptical attitude towards the more marvelous accounts is a result of his conversion to Christianity, but probably we should assume that he was also more critical than suggestible, aware of wrong-ness and wrong-headed-ness on the part of Indians as well as whitemen when they are wondering about such terror-inspiring topics.

But for many people there must be more to Witigo than this, and it is from this point on that our problems gather momentum. To be brief, I will jump to an extreme case. In one narrative I collected, a younger brother marries a beaver, and in the process of becoming transformed he is forced to begin to eat the meat of his killed and cooked wife. He becomes the "Great Beaver" and at the same time becomes atoosh or Witigo,[1] although there is no implication that he subsequently craved for the meat of beaver (or humans).[2] I have cited this case to show that when the gap is spanned between mundane cannibalism and mythic persons, we are faced with a large and diffuse spread of evidence for beliefs, most of it encapsulated in the intuitions and actions of narratives.

I suggest that for many Algonquian Indians, the notion of Witigo is very uncertain in both appearance and essence--that the possibility of Witigo's presence is accompanied by a wide variability in what Witigo may appear to be, or the possibility that it is some other monster. Witigo is more certainly terrifying than he is a known figure with specifiable characteristics; in this regard he is roughly similar to our notion of the Christian

Devil (a common English gloss for Witigo). As evidence for this hypothesis of ambiguity, I cite Ahenakew's paper again, choosing a case where people are convinced they see Witigo, are terrified, and then discover that they were completely wrong.

Ahenakew speaking:

It was in spring time that the Indians expected a visit from Wetikoo. Belief in him persists. It seems to be, that while the enlightened mind of the Indian does not accept the existence of this being, his body continues to shrink from the thought of him. Where Christianity has taken hold of the people the supersitition, if such it be, is gradually dying down.

When a young man, 1907, I was teaching school at an Indian Reserve, Sturgeon Lake. The Indians were almost all pagan then at that place.

When spring time came I had much trouble with the children being absent from school. Rumours were going around that He-who-is-alone, i.e. Ka-pa-ya-koot (Wetikoo) was lurking around. The parents living at some distance from the school refused to let their children take the risk of going through a bushy part of the road. I was obliged to go for the children every morning and take them home after school.

One Christian Indian lived on the Reserve. He had a little store. His name was Me-ywa-chi-mo-we-yi-mew (i.e. Good News Man). He said to me,

> This is not half as bad as it was some years ago. My brother the chief, as you know is manly. He was ploughing a small field just south of his house. Rumours that Wetikoo was around began to circulate. He believed this so thoroughly that he had a rifle slung in a slant across his back as he ploughed.
>
> People barred their windows; in fact after a few nights had passed they all came to spend the night with me here. They slept all over the floor and the lamp never went out at night. If it happened that one had to go outside, they would all go out together.
>
> One night, well on towards morning a man reported that they had seen the Wetikoo standing on a high manure pile, near the stables. After a hurried consultation old Na-cha-wi-ka-pow (Good Stander) started to sing what was supposed to be a song taught him by his familiar spirit. Word went around that he was evoking the wind to blow the Wetikoo up to the skies.
>
> I noticed the dawn appearing. I went out. By this time I was able to recognize the

> figure on top of the manure pile. I invited them to come out and look at the monster. They came out quietly one by one, not wanting to disturb the old man who was singing away. A general laugh was the result, the Wetikoo was one of my calves.
>
> The old man being told what it was, stopped his singing looking very embarrassed. I asked him not to have my calf blown away.
>
> The next night the Indians stayed in their own homes and we were able to spend a more restful night. I confess, however, that I, even with my Christian beliefs, was not altogether free from fear.

End of Ahenakew's account.

It seems quite likely that these people thought that there really was a Witigo-person threatening them. The old man probably thought that the best way to cope with real and imminent danger was with his own access to power, through the vehicle of his singing. Superficially, this action is comparable to the Christian invocation, through prayer, of a saint's help in time of crisis, perhaps in confrontation with the devil. But the comparison has little depth; the parallel is only that people may, in the face of perceived threat, respond with symbolic sounds in hopes of a spiritual person's assistance. I have confidence in the accuracy of my interpretation of Eastern Cree songs and spiritual power (1975) but the Witigo threat, and other monstrous persons, seem more diffuse and difficult to grasp. One reason may be that this is a subject on which people are more likely to be fearful than contemplative, and different categories of people may be quite differently fearful. For example, the narratives are used in various contexts to:
(1) scare children into staying close to the camp or house.
(2) scare children into being quiet at night, to go to sleep.
(3) excite children when they go to play the game of witigo.
(4) inform people about the contingent nature of the world.
(5) used to scare adults into deference to some sorcerers.
(6) used to accept the disappearance of individuals.
(7) used to assert the appearance of monstrous persons.
(8) deliberately imaginative contributions.

And beyond narratives, actual Windigo scares are a part of the experience of many Northern Algonquians of middle age or older. These are often related to the mystery and great concern over lost persons, or may be a more complicated matter of group terror. But it is not only the Witigo that may be the threatening agency; it may be "white trappers" or other strangers or monsters. From one recorded version to another, some narratives replace Witigo

with other creatures, without altering many other aspects. Witigo is, when looked at in this synthetic fashion, more a matter of attitudes than he is a definable person.

The attitudes would be from the Indian's point of view, and from Witigo's (presumed) point of view. People's attitude would include the horror of being food for some monstrous person who has lost control of himself and become confused or transformed, irresponsibly powerful and damaging, sometimes sent by the malign power of a sorcerer. People also have the attitude of confusion and paralytic fear of being beaten in this most horrible of life's contingencies. As Weipust describes it, some of Windigo's power is in the weakness of his victims.

Witigo's presumed attitude is one of low cunning in his desire to attack, kill, and eat those persons from whom he has become estranged, ostracized and solitary, exposed to the elements and at once fearsome and fearful. He embodies despair, the awful confusion of family and society for food, and the consequent loss of humanity.

But these attitudes do not necessarily circumscribe a category of persons; there are other monstrous persons, who share to some degree the motives and actions of Witigo, and are regarded by people as being to some degree similar to him. Further, there are occasions when Windigo is not a transformed human, or not a cannibal, or not solitary, or not aggressive towards humans. There is more possibility and flexibility in this word than we have acknowledged.

Yet many Algonquians and Algonquianists prefer to simplify this variance down to concrete kinds of person (monstrous, symbolic, or other) and condition. It is also manifestly clear that in either culture, the experts don't agree. Apparently, while some Algonquians are prepared to accept the possibility of the monstrous, some Algonquianists prefer to tacitly assert the necessity of fantasy, and then to exaggerate with false concreteness some aspects of symbolic implication that they have culled for this purpose from a variety of narratives.

And in this context we have generalized a monster, not from a calf on a manure pile, but from similarly overwhelming our facts, in a different direction. Evans-Pritchard, a judicious interpreter of topics such as belief and symbolism (among many others) reminds us that

> ...any event has the characters of uniquene and generality, and...in an interpretation of it both have to be given consideration. If the specificity of a fact is lost, the generalization about it becomes so general as to be valueless (this is what has happened to several of our categories, for example, 'tabu', 'totemism' and more recently 'lineage'; the general statements about phenomena of a certain type, or supposed type, have become so general as to have lost all significance). (Evans-Pritchard, 1962.175).

I am arguing that the category of 'Witigo' fits his

description.

To conclude then, the Algonquian notion is a variable identification of separable attributes of attitude, appearance, and actions, located on an event-specific basis in men, women, infants, cannibal monsters, solitary wild-men, and a variety of less human-like creatures. We have overgeneralized from some of these data, a logically distinct category of persons or a distinct psychological condition. I do not think that, on the evidence, Witigo can realistically be accepted as a psychosis, (Honigmann 1954.279-82; 1967.399-403) although particular aspects of Witigo may be components of some individuals' psychological dysfunction. Nor can he be realistically accepted as a category of persons, unless we can specify a category with boundaries allowing frequent realignment, and with a content allowing great variance and little apparent form. Finally, from the Algonquian view, there may be a category of madness that is identified as Witigo, a breakdown-transformation following despair, deprivation, and an enemy's curse.

NOTES

[1] The Word 'Atoosh' refers to the Witigo in the vocabulary of the Crees of the east coast of James Bay, Québec.

[2] The 'Atoosh' quality of the Great Beaver was recorded at Rupert House, James Bay, by Brian Craik, from John Blackned (personal communication).

The Sutaio dialect of Cheyenne: A Discussion of the Evidence

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The Sutaio[1] became incorporated into the Cheyenne tribe in the protohistoric period. By tradition they were encountered by the Cheyenne somewhere on the Plains, and just as a fight was breaking out the two groups recognized that they spoke the same language and agreed not to fight, but to join together. Just exactly what the Sutaio spoke and how different it was from Cheyenne has been a mystery ever since. This paper reviews the few scraps of information that exist on Sutaio and the problem of to what extent elements of Sutaio origin may have been incorporated into the Cheyenne language as we know it today.

It appears that the only data obtained from Cheyennes who claimed to have learned some Sutaio from Sutaio speakers at a time when older Sutaio still spoke the language are in notes of George Bird Grinnell and Truman Michelson collected in the early years of this century. Grinnell's data are in a letter to William Jones of April 21, 1905 (Grinnell 1905). A note indicates that he obtained his information among the Southern Cheyenne in 1901. This seems to be the best Sutaio on record and the most likely, of what is available, to represent genuine examples of what the Sutaio spoke. The forms and phrases given are clearly volunteered, rather than elicited. Since it is most likely that they were remembered because of their divergence from the corresponding Cheyenne expressions, they probably present an exaggerated picture of the degree of difference between the two forms of speech. Grinnell's information about Sutaio is presented here in its entirety; the phonemic Cheyenne forms (underlined) are from Alford and Leman (1976),[2] supplemented and corrected by a personal communication from Wayne Leman (1978) and a few forms from Leman (1977). The forms are given as found in the manuscript, but the presentation has been rearranged:

"By all the testimony that is to be had the Sūh´tāi language was very harsh and guttural. It was hard to understand the words spoken, and difficult to comprehend them even if they were clearly heard."

"Picking Bones Woman pronounces the word, Sōh´taiyu. She says the Sūh´tāi always began to talk by saying, haīyahch´. This reminds one of the Blackfoot exclamation haiya´."

	Sutaio	Cheyenne	Cheyenne (phonemic)
'wife'	nā wūhk´	nā tsī Im´	nȧhtsē?ēme
'a long way off'	hā´āchk	hā´āīsh	haa?ēše
'going to play'	ni tai´ ah tsim´a kūh ŭm	ni´ta nū wIt´tsIm	netanōvetȧhtsema
'I am dizzy'	na mi gĕn´i ōhk´a	na vIn´Ī ūts	naeveneohtse

"These are some of the calls of an old Sūh´tāi^{yu} crier long ago. The words for men and women in his calls are Cheyenne, the others Sūh´tai^{yu}. The Sūh´tāi always repeated their words twice, while the Cheyennes were satisfied with a single call."

'it is going to be stormy'	Ɨnsh nkāāā [2X]	Ɨnsh kō ha´o (=It is going to snow)	--?--
'it is drizzling rain'	ĕnsh ka ne´ha [2X]	Ɨnsh ko a´nɪh	enėšėhko?hane?ha
'women, get the wood'	hē Ɨst´sa [2X] māh kɪ hăn´ [2X]	hē Ɨst´sa hmahu´	he?éstse sa?-máhane
'men and women, go together'	hē tăn Ɨsts´ [2X] hē Ī´yū hōn´ūt [2X]	hē tăn Ɨsts´ heiu vī´ō tsɪm	hetanesėstse he?ēo?o vé?ȯhtsema

Michelson's data are rather less straightforward than Grinnell's (Michelson 1913). He gives several sets of words from Bull Thigh (reputed to be 81) and some short lists from Wrapped Hair ("about 74"). Both of these men were Northern Cheyennes who were living among the Southern Cheyenne in Oklahoma when interviewed by Michelson in August, 1913. It seems clear that neither was a real speaker of Sutaio in 1913, although they must have used the language to a certain extent with relatives in earlier years. Bull Thigh appears to have learned what he knew of the language from his paternal grandparents, both Sutaios. "In his grandfather's time nearly all Sutaio spoke the language;" but his grandfather died over 60 years previously (about 1853). Wrapped Hair claimed to have spoken Sutaio with his father, but had not spoken it since the latter's death 50 years previously (about 1863). He also claimed to be the only Northern Cheyenne who could speak Sutaio, with the possible exception of Peter Shell, and could recall only Old Crow as a speaker in Oklahoma. He denied that White Bull could speak it and said that Left Hand Bull (apparently another speaker) had recently died. He said there was not much difference between Sutaio and Cheyenne: "they can converse." Before his wordlist appears Michelson's note: "Wrapped Hair says he has forgotten a lot of it."

Michelson's forms are given here in their entirety and in the order in which they were elicited, except as noted. Phonemic Cheyenne forms have been added when available, as above. Further notes on these forms follow the presentation of the data:[3]

	Sutaio	Cheyenne	Cheyenne (phonemic)
1. 'dog'	hōtam	hōtam	hōtame
		oiskasiu	oeškeso (pl. -ėseho)
2. 'bear'	wŏpinaxk^{u}	náxku	náhkohe
3. 'fox'	wŏwoxtciamiuts	waxksiu	vóhkēso (pl. -ėseho)
4. 'wolf'	nistǫ	hó?ni?	hó?nehe
5. 'tree'	matáa	hóotsit^{u}	hoóhtseto (pl.)

6. 'lion'	a̲xáiests	nanúsiham	nanóse?hame
7. 'duck'	maxpívavikis	śíśiu ('ducks')	šé?šeo?o (pl.)
8. 'prairie dog'	a̲xwistivuxsts	óniniwunusk	ónone-vóneške
9. 'rabbit'	oxtaxkúnu	wáxko	vóhkoohe
10. 'skunk'	tsihuxamẹusts	xáo	xaó?o
13. 'snake'	oxtamiwuñunsts ("anything crawl")	śíśinowuts	šé?šenovotse
15. 'moccasins'	kumhiwútci	mutcánuts	mo?čéhanòtse
16. 'Sioux'	xwíva?utunts	oóhomo	ho?óhomo?e
17. 'man'	wosistán	hitán	hetane
18. 'woman'	wiv	he?	hé?e
19. 'boy'	ka·śkun	"same"	ka?ǎ́kóne 'child'
20. 'girl'	wiv	[blank]	
21. 'chief'	tsivawounsts	tsavíhanivsts	tse-véhonevèstse
22. 'foot'	má·is	matcíku	màhtsē?ko
23. 'arm'	ma´ats	heats	he?ahtse 'his arm'
24. 'chin'	misistuts	matsó	màhtsèstóó?o

Items 1 through 27 constitute the first session with Bull Thigh. For 11 ('possum') a query is given in both columns; for 12 and 14 ('raccoon' and 'chokecherries') the same word, equivalent to the present-day Cheyenne word, is given for both; 25, 26, and 27 ('eye', 'nose', and 'mouth') are like 23 in having the regular Cheyenne third-person possessed form in the Cheyenne column and what appears to be the regular Cheyenne indefinite-possessed form in the Sutaio column (compare with 23: ma?ahtse 'someone's arm'). After this list is the note: "Bull Thigh spoke connected Sutaio for 5 to 8 minutes." The subsequent notes contain two more examples:

28. 'finger'	hetsehinistut^{u}	mo/is´kun	mo?èškono (pl.)
29. 'White Dirt' (Sutaio leader)	axwó/utsin^{a}	wó/utsina	voetséna?e 'clay'

There follows the second set of forms from Bull Thigh:

30. 'beaver'	ähōmái	homá·	hōma?e
31. 'goose'	^{a}hoxwína/i	hina·i	hēna?e
32. 'elk'	axmó·	mó·e	mo?e, mo?éhe
33. 'turtle'	amaxpímainu	má·ẹnu	ma?eno
34. 'squirrel'	aha^{x}útkuwats	noẹ·e	no?(k)ée?e
36. 'stone'	wítkonoaitsats	ho/oná	ho?honáa?e
37. 'arrow'	a̲xmáhuts	máhuts	maahótse (pl.)
38. 'bow'	axmátsk	mátski	ma?tšéške
39. 'stone axe'	hóoux	húk^{o}i	hóhkóxe

The following day a third set of forms was obtained from

Bull Thigh:

40. 'dog'	ahó̱tam		o/ískasi	(See no. 1.)
41. 'my daughter'	nats		naxtún	náhtóna
42. 'my son'	nañis		nā´a	nae?ha
43. 'my grandfather'	axnámsím		náms´im	naméšéme
47. 'my younger brother'	nioᶜnis´im		nésima	nasemáhe
48. 'my older brother'	tsiuxaiẹhaẹtu		ná·ni·	na?ne[5]
49. 'pipe'	aihẹpotutststs (?)		héuxku	he?óhko
51. 'tobacco'	heowipuᶜtitu		tsinímoxku	cf. tse?némoo?o
52. 'knife'	mo·isó·		mútski	motšéške
53. 'spoon'	anówaniststs		hamis´ku	hámēško
55. 'ankle'	axmaiš) avíhuun		vìyuhu (?)	ve?ho?o?o 'ankle-bone'
57. 'badger'	axmahá·u		maáxku	ma?hāhko?e
58. 'bat'	amusianutsiononą		maxtsianutsinóna·[6]	cf. móšéškanetsénoonáhe
60. 'frog'	ahaoná·na		onhá·	oónáha?e

Here there are some notes about Bull Thigh's grandparents, followed by two more forms:

62. 'cane'	atúktaiya-nnistuts(?)[7]	hukᶜtuyù[8]	ho?kóhtoho
63. 'bear'	amomátanists	náxku	(See no. 2.)

Here there is a note in brackets: "Bull Thigh says the a- part is the only difference between Sutaio and Cheyenne; the rest the same." The first form given with this characteristic is 29; others are 30, 32, 37, 38, 39, and (omitted above) 44, 45, 46, 50, 54, 56, 59, and 61 (some of these have slight variations of transcription or differences of number). It will be seen that others of Bull Thigh's Sutaio forms also have this prefixed element; it is spelled ä-, a-, ax-, a-, aᶜ-, ä´ᶜ-, a -, ahá-, ai-, and in perhaps other slightly variant ways. Bull Thigh's fourth set of forms follows (64 through 74):

64. 'I see him'	aᶜnawō°tᶜa	nawō°tᶜa	navóohta 'I see it'
65. 'girl'	nainowusts[9]	hei·kaškun	hē?e-ka?èškone
67. 'woman'	vivᶜ	hé·e	hē?e (cf. no. 18)
68. 'young man'	awó·istą̄n	kąšowá	kąsováahe
	"stands for youg men, young women, and children"		
71. 'bastard'	ahamós´ikaka-škun	émoósiš	*émooseso

After a few miscellaneous notes is the fifth set of forms (75 through 98):

75. 'jugular vein'	aᶜmi·mainim	maẍimai·	ma?xe-ma?e (?)
76. 'finger nail'	amístohivo	maᶜtohiv	máhtóohevo
77. 'lance'	amxomó	xomó	xomóó?o
79. 'red stone' ('pipe')	axmaininóo	máiẹuxkᶜ	ma?e-he?óhko
80. 'creek'	ámiuhi·	ó·hẹ·	ó?he?e 'river'
82. 'moose'	máᶜpimonᶜi	mó·ẹ	(See no. 32.)
84. 'pigeon'	atúksiuta	hemín	heméne 'mourning dove'
90. 'nose'	aᶜmainívo	má·iv	ma?evo
92. 'guts'	avíṭionists	hẹvík·ki-onists	vé?keoneše̱stse
93. 'penis'	avítionutsi	víto·uts	vétoo?ótse
94. 'navel'	ahístan·ni	histá·	hẽsta?e
98. 'wrist'	vṭ́·nu·nu	nau´s/ts-ixúñautᶜ[10]	na?ahtse tséx-hón-a?o?ta

In the fourth and fifth sets of forms those differing only by the addition of the prefixed a- (or a variant), except for differences of transcription or of number, are 64 (the only verb form), 66, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74, 78, 81, 85, 87, 88, and 95. Those differing only in having a prefixed ami- (variants: am-, aᶜm-, axmi-) are 76 (with third-person-possessed form), 77, 80, 89, 91, and 9o. For 83 ('catfish') both words are the same; for 86 and 97 ('toad' and 'elbow') no Sutaio words are given.

The information obtained from Wrapped Hair consists mostly of notes on Sutaio societies and Sutaio tales. His Sutaio words all have the prenoun (or in one case preverb) amiši-; those showing other differences from Cheyenne, or otherwise of interest, are given here:

99. 'dog'	ámišioiškis amišú·tam	o/iskís	(See nos. 1. and 40.)
104.'skunk'	amiši·inisá·ta	xáo	(See no. 10.)
107.'snake'	amišiho/ivi-vaniuts	šišinu	(Cf. no. 13.)
109.'guts'	amišivai·ia-nists	hevíkionists	(See no. 92.)
114.'tree'	amišimat·ta	hoótsts	hoóhtsèstse (Cf. no. 5.)
115.'lake'	amišionótat	niyán	ne?hane
119.'I see him'	natamišivoóm	navoóm	navóomo

Amid further forms of this nature appears this note: "Wrapped Hair talked a little in Sutaio. The amiši was frequent. Milton said part of the rest different from Cheyenne, but mostly like Cheyenne. The terminations nearly the same." A second set of forms from Wrapped Hair (123 through 133) also differs only in having the amiši-

prefixed, except one:

126.'beaver' amíšᶜóma·a, amíšĭaho-nisin[11] } homá· (See no. 30.)

A third set, consisting of five society names (134 through 138), also differs only by having amíši-, except in one case:

134.'Red Hoof'	amíšᶜotowan-utxi	máhohivuš	ma?ȯhóohevase 'Red-Shields'

It seems clear that, in contrast to Grinnell, Michelson obtained his forms by elicitation, asking for specific words (almost exclusively nouns) in various semantic categories. For one thing, three glosses have a query in both columns (nos. 11, 35, and 97--'possum', 'pumpkin', and 'elbow'). It is evident, too, that in the later sessions the Sutaio forms became less and less convincing when the informants got into the rut of simply giving the Cheyenne words with prefixed elements (of increasing length). A number of the other proffered Sutaio forms appear likely to be Cheyenne synonyms or other semantically close words:

2. vóhpe-náhkohe 'white bear'; 'polar bear' (Alford and Leman 1976.6), 'grey or white bear' (Petter 1915.99).
5. and 114. ma?taa?e 'forest'; the agreement between the two speakers may be significant, however.
7. máhpéva vé?kẽso 'in-the-water bird'.
10. A participle meaning 'he who smells bad'; cf. eõxemeeoz 'it smells bad' (Petter 1915.983).
13. As the added gloss suggests, this is a form of a verb meaning 'to crawl'; cf. e-ame-vonehne 'he's crawling' (Alford and Leman 1976.132).
17. and 68. Probably both represent vo?éstane 'person'.
22. Perhaps *maneso 'hoof'; cf. heheso 'hoof' and mazhess, mazehess 'hoof' (Petter 1915.492, 553). This word is from Proto-Algonquian (PA) *wesiči 'his foot' and may have been an archaic Cheyenne word or the genuine Sutaio word.
23., 25., 26., and 27. See above.
24. Perhaps máhtsénestȯtse 'face'.
28. Probably a word for 'index finger'; cf. hezeoson, moešq zeveš◡zeenistov 'index finger' (Petter 1915.478).
31. A prenoun or other prefixed element added to the Cheyenne word.
32. Prefixed a-, prenoun máhpé- 'water', and the Cheyenne word.
41. Conceivably natse 'my nephew'.
42. nanéso 'my child'.
47. A prefixed element (?) plus the Cheyenne form.
49. Prefixed ai- and he?potȯtse, the modern word for 'cigarette'.
62. Possessive prefix (?) plus ho?kȯhtȯheonȯtse 'canes'.
71. Prefixed ah- plus some combination of root émoos- and ka?éškóne 'child'.

82. màhpé-mo?éhe 'moose', literally 'water elk'.
109. Prefixed amiśi- plus the unpossessed form of maveeoneššsz 'intestines' (Petter 1915.617).
134. Prefixed amiś- plus hotóva-notàxeo?o 'Buffalo-Bull Warriors'.

One set of Bull Thigh's Sutaio forms seems to show a tendency to differentiate them from the corresponding Cheyenne by the addition of medial n's; compare 60., 82., 90., 93., and 94. If this is a real pattern perhaps 98. ('wrist') is a nasalized form of 'ankle' (cf. 55.) and 79. ('red stone (pipe)') is a nasalized version of a putative *ma?e-he?óó?o, or the like, with the variant of the word for 'pipe' that Petter (1915.821) writes eō. Alford (1977. 232) gives noma?ne 'fish' as Sutaio beside Cheyenne noma?he, but cf. noman (Petter 1915.482) and the qualification "possibly" in Alford and Leman (1976.39).

It appears that Michelson's informants were struggling to remember the Sutaio words they had heard many years before, and that they sometimes gave Cheyenne words or systematically altered forms of Cheyenne words in response to Michelson's inquiries. There are, however, a number of forms which have a claim to being considered genuine Sutaio words. Both Bull Thigh and Wrapped Hair seem to agree that of the two Cheyennes words for 'dog' (oeškeso and hōtame, the latter considered older) the first is basically the Cheyenne word and the second the Sutaio, though they also seem to imply that both could be used in both languages (1., 40., 99.), and it might be noted that oeškeso is not in Petter's dictionary (Petter 1915).[12] Bull Thigh twice gave wiv (viv^{c}) for 'woman'; this calls to mind PA *wi·wali 'his wife' and would be notable for lacking the third-person prefix he- that Cheyenne adds to words of this shape. Final determination of just which forms are likely to be Sutaio will have to await further study.

Recently Dan K. Alford has claimed, in his Cheyenne dictionary (Alford and Leman 1976) and in an article on the Cheyenne plural (Alford 1977), that there are traces of Sutaio in modern Cheyenne. This evidence is very different in character from the data from Grinnell and Michelson. It is based exclusively on an interpretation of the doublets which are found in Cheyenne for a large number of words, in almost all cases involving multiple treatments of PA *k. An obvious explanation of multiple reflexes, when found in any language, is the postulation of dialect mixture: one reflex was proper to one dialect, the other to the other dialect, and when the dialects became mixed both forms were retained, resulting in the existence of doublets showing no differentiation of meaning. The hypothesis is an easy one, but in the absence of historical information it can be hard to prove. For one thing, the testimony of native speakers is not always reliable on the identification of the origins of the forms in their language, and there is an observed tendency, perhaps as the result of the way anthropologists and linguists ask the questions, to explain variants as coming from other submerged dialects formerly spoken by members of the community. In the present case it should be

noted that Alford's alleged Sutaio words are actually in use as Cheyenne words, while those provided by Grinnell's and Michelson's informants were recalled, however imperfectly, as words used by known Sutaio speakers.

The variations which Alford proposes to explain as due to dialect mixture are ?k ~ ? (e.g. no?kée?e ~ no?ée?e 'squirrel'), hk ~ Ø, and k ~ č before e (e.g. ma?hahkeso ~ ma?haeso ~ ma?hahčeso 'old man').[13] His claim is that the forms with k are native Cheyenne words, those without k (or with č in place of k) being of Sutaio origin. Under this interpretation PA *-k, *nk, and *hk would give hk in Cheyenne but Ø in Sutaio; PA *xk, *θk, *šk, and *çk would give ?k in Cheyenne but ? in Sutaio; and če would have been the Sutaio treatment of ke in words borrowed from Cheyenne.[14] The borrowing of words between the dialects, with concomitant "adapting," and the subsequent obliteration of the distinctness between the two are assumed to account for the mixture of forms in modern Cheyenne.[15] In addition to a certain amount of inherent implausibility there are some specific difficulties with this hypothesis, however:

1) Although an explanation, albeit an ad hoc one, is offered for the double, or multiple, treatment of PA *k and *k-clusters, nothing is said about the double treatment of PA *p and *p-clusters, which show an identical pattern except for lacking any parallel to the palatalization of k to č: hp ~ Ø from one set of sources and ?p ~ ? from another.[16] It would certainly seem reasonable to expect the solution to the problem of the reflexes of PA *k to be similar to, or at least compatible with, the solution to the problem of the reflexes of PA *p, but it is clear that these problems cannot be solved by postulating two dialects with different but regular sound laws. For while some words lose both *p and *k and some retain both, others lose one and not the other: taa?e 'night' (<PA *tepexkwi) and pahke '(small amount of) ashes' (archaic; <PA *penkwi), but also paa?e 'ashes, dust' (<*penkwi) and -?pa?on- 'back' (<*-xpeθkwan-), vé?ke- 'sweet' (<*wi·škwep-) and ahke 'gum' (<*pekiwa).

2) There is a functional opposition between the two variants of many words in the many cases where the form with k is the diminutive of the form without: e.g. ho?honáa?e 'rock' and ho?honáhke 'stone (smaller)'; pa ?pa?onáhe 'camel' (literally 'hump-backed one') and pa?ké?pa?onáhe 'brahma bull' (literally 'small hump-backed one', with the k retained from PA *pexkw- 'lump- or mound-shaped' but not in 'back'--see above); máheo?o 'house' (underlying //maheo(n-)//) and máheško 'shed' (underlying //mahehko-(n-)//); ma?aeta 'iron' and ma?kaeta 'coin, money, metal; piece of metal (Petter 1915.704)'; and numerous other examples, as noted by both Petter (1915.630, 662, and passim) and Alford (1977.231).[17] Even if there were no problems of internal inconsistency in assuming dialect mixture as the source of this opposition, it would surely be unlikely for Cheyenne to have borrowed large numbers of nouns and verbs from Sutaio and systematically kept the

original forms, with retained k, as the corresponding diminutives. It may also be noted that there is at least one comparable case of a diminutive with hp beside a non-diminutive with Ø from PA *p: hotóa?a 'buffalo bull' (underlying //hotóa//, from PA *aya·pe·wa) beside hotóhpa?éhe 'steer' and hotoxpess 'buffalo bull between one and three years old' and hotoxpaess, hotoxpacess 'small buffalo bull, not four years old' (Petter 1915.193). There are also forms in which diminutive hk appears instead of historically expected hp: šé?šéškeso (underlying //še?šehk-eso(n-)//) 'duckling' beside šé?še, šé?šeo?o 'duck, ducks' (<PA *ši·?ši·pa, -aki);[18] hóhkeehe 'mouse', reshaped from PA *a·pikwes(iw)a. These forms with unoriginal k and other forms showing k in diminutives for some but not all cases of PA *k (e.g. 'brahma bull', above) make it clear that there is or has been in Cheyenne a process of extending k as a mark of diminutivization, according to some as yet unformulated pattern. It is possible that regular sound laws originally determined the retention or dropping of PA *k and *p, and that the diminutivization rule has extended the retained consonants beyond the environments in which they historically occurred; or perhaps the regular dropping of *k and *p was blocked from the start in diminutives under certain conditions. In any case, to the extent that the retention or restoration of PA *k as Cheyenne k can be accounted for by a morphological rule, the postulation of interdialect borrowing becomes superfluous. And in fact, for almost all of the doublets in Petter's dictionary the form with k is specified to have a diminutive meaning, including many which are not differentiated by Alford and Leman. For example, emo?óhtavo ~ emo?kóhtavo 'it is black', given as dialect variants in Alford and Leman (1976.23), are given as emoxtavo 'it is black' and emoktavo 'it is black (lighter shade or a small surface)' by Petter (1915.136; from PA *maxkate·w- 'black'); hetóhkonótse ~ hetóonótse (~ vetónótse) 'dishes' (Alford and Leman 1976.32) are hetoxkonoz 'small bowls' and vetonoz 'large bowls' (Petter 1915.171; from PA *wela·kanali); ho?évoo?ótse ~ ho?évohkótse 'meat' (Alford and Leman 1976.67; underlying //ho?évo(hk)-ote//) are hoevoxz 'meat (large amount)' and hoevoxkoz 'meat (small amount)' (Petter 1915.697; from PA *aškye·wakwi, reshaped with noun final *-ay). It seems likely that the few doublets in Petter's dictionary that are given without any difference of meaning were also originally contrasting diminutive and nondiminutive forms; e.g. hokto ~ hooxto 'cane' (Petter 1915.208; presumably ho?kóhtoho ~ *ho?óhtoho).

3) Grinnell's and Michelson's forms do not confirm any systematic tendency for the Sutaio forms to differ by the absence of k. The numerous instances of k reflected in Grinnell's data are especially noteworthy. In Michelson's lists several of the forms showing k in both languages or Ø for k in both languages are in disagreement with dialect identifications in Alford and Leman's dictionary or with the implications of Alford's hypothesis. For example, Bull Thigh used ka?éškóne 'child' as a Sutaio word (nos. 19. and 71.), rather than the putative Sutaio form ka?eóne (Alford

and Leman 1976.20); and on the other hand he appears to have used *mȯšéanetsénoonáhe for 'bat' in both dialects (no. 58.), beside which Alford and Leman (1976.6) give only the k-forms mȯšéškanetsénoonáhe ("Cheyenne") and mȯšéškanetsénoona ("Sutaio"). The only words which conform to the pattern predicted by Alford's hypothesis are Bull Thigh's words for 'stone axe' (39.) and 'badger' (57.) and Wrapped Hair's words for 'guts' (in contrast to Bull Thigh's words for 'guts', which both appear to have had k--misheard once as [t]; no. 92.); these all show Sutaio forms which could well be the k-less counterparts of the Cheyenne forms given by Alford and Leman, presumably *hóoxe, *ma?hāo?e, and *vé?eonešéstse. The last of these, however, is the only form given for Cheyenne by Petter (1915.617): maveeonešsz 'intestines' (with indefinite-possessor prefix ma-). In sum, it would seem unlikely that Sutaio and Cheyenne underwent different sound changes affecting PA *k and *p, but there may have been a tendency for Sutaio to use the originally nondiminutive forms and Cheyenne the diminutive forms, at least of some words, and this could well lead some speakers, when pressed, to declare that the k-less variants are really or originally Sutaio.

4) Finally there is the matter of the variants with če for ke. These differ from the variants with and without k in showing no apparent functional contrast, and on this basis alone they are unlikely to have the same sort of origin. Petter gives only the forms with č in his dictionary, spelled by him c, which he describes as a [tʏ] (Petter 1915.vi).[19] Michelson in his later Cheyenne fieldwork encountered both če and ke and found that, though both were equally idiomatic among both the Southern and Northern Cheyenne, the če forms were thought to be old-fashioned and some speakers used only the ke forms (Michelson 1935.156). Michelson's word lists from Bull Thigh and Wrapped Hair show both če and ke, with no apparent pattern (see nos. 15. and 69.), but he obtained the following significant information from his interpreter Milton Whiteman: "man says nímutce = Wrapped Hair"; "woman says nimuke"; "woman mostly have slightly different way of pronouncing names from men". Wayne Leman (personal communication 1978) informs me that these forms are respectively némo?če and némo?ke. It appears that the če forms were originally proper to men's speech, but that with the breakdown of this institution of older Cheyenne society the če forms have lingered in use in some cases as archaic or otherwise marked variants. There is independent evidence of the existence of phonetic differentiation in earlier men's and women's speech, as both Petter (1915.231) and Alford (1977.232) report that for modern ešk the men's pronunciation was [ešk] but the women's was [esk], the latter being also used by children according to Petter. Thus the men's speech was consistently palatalizing, but the modern language has in one case generalized the women's form and in the other case the men's form.[20] It is possible that there may yet be a few elderly Cheyennes who consistently differentiate the two styles. In any event it would not be surprising for modern Cheyennes

to assume that the čę-variant of archaic men's speech must be from the now extinct Sutaio dialect; significantly, Alford was apparently also told that the [esk] pronunciation was Sutaio, in the case of amèske 'grease' (Alford and Leman 1976.48).

It seems, then, that it is unlikely that the phonological alternations in modern Cheyenne discussed here go back to different phonological histories of the Cheyenne and Sutaio dialects. In addition to the considerations reviewed above it may be said that it would certainly not be expected for an obvious characteristic of Sutaio to be recalled in the 1970's that was unknown two or three generations ago to Cheyennes who had personally known Sutaio speakers in their youth. The search for Sutaio words still recalled among the Cheyenne may yet bear fruit, but for the present it must be concluded that Grinnell's few forms together with whatever can be salvaged from Michelson's lists are the only data on Sutaio that exist.

NOTES

[1] The English name Sutaio is a borrowing from the Cheyenne plural so?taeo?o.

[2] In the phonemic transcription of Cheyenne ts is a unit phoneme, reflecting underlying //t// before e; ė, å, and o are voiceless, as are all final vowels; é, etc., have high pitch and ē, etc., have mid pitch, but since the latter was not recognized in Alford and Leman (1976) there are inconsistencies in the marking of pitch in the cited forms. For the optional variant of k before e (see below), č is written instead of Alford and Leman's tš. Conjectural phonemicizations are asterisked; these have been written on the basis of available information. Only phonemic transcriptions have been underlined.

[3] In Michelson's phonetic transcriptions a (intended for small capital a) is a low central vowel; tc is [č]; the smooth breathing (ᵓ --here transcribed ?) and raised dot (·) inconsistently record glottal stop; the rough breathing (ᶜ) is a weak [h]; a vertical line (here transcribed /) indicates a syllable boundary or nondiphthongization of adjacent vowels; raised syllables are voiceless; ś (and apparently also s´) is a lamino-alveolar. These notes are Michelson's first attempt at recording Cheyenne and do not have the phonetic consistency of his later work on the language. In quoting from Michelson (and Petter, below) self-evident abbreviations have been silently expanded. The numbering is mine.

[4] The second ę is uncertain.

[5] It is not clear that na?ne is idiomatic (Wayne Leman, (personal communication 1978); perhaps Michelson's form is

what Petter (1915.189) wrote nanéhá.

[8] The ts and u are uncertain.

[7] The first n is unclear.

[8] The final ú is unclear.

[9] This word has the added comment: "used for boys and girls when young."

[10] What is here transcribed nau´s is perhaps better read nauts.

[11] The Ī could be t; the -n could be -m.

[12] At least not as a word for 'dog'; perhaps, however, this is ōešq, ōešciss 'scabby, small dog (when the hair comes off in spaces)' (Petter 1915.400).

[13] Underlying //ehk// is phonemic ešk (or esk, see below) (Davis 1962.39-40).

[14] The claim that ? can be a reflex of PA *-k (or *nk or *hk) is not correct (pace Alford 1977.230). All putative cases involve word-final sequences of the shape -VV?V which can be accounted for by the following (historical and synchronic) rule: All word-final sequences of two vowels, whether of the same or different quality, are broken up by an inserted sequence of vowel plus glottal stop ($-V_1V_2 \rightarrow -V_1V?V_2$). If V_2 is e the inserted vowel copies V_1 ($-V_1\overline{V}_1?e$); otherwise V_2 is the vowel copied ($-V_1o?o$ or $-V_1a?a$). (Probably the rule was basically that $-\overline{V}_1V_2 \rightarrow -V_1\overline{V}_2?V_2$, with the replacement of *-ae?e and *-oe?e by -aa?e and -oo?e being due to a later assimilation rule.) This rule accounts for such forms as the following: aa?e 'year' (underlying //ae(n-)//, plural aenótse; from PA *pepo(·)nwi 'winter'); méo?o 'road, path' (//meo(n-)//, pl. méonótse; PA *mye·hkani); mée?e 'feather' (//mée(n-)//, pl. méeno; PA *mi·kwena); -o?o 'animate plural' (after vowels; //-o// <PA *-aki). Further examples are in the text below. In a few cases this rule applies to an antepenultimate sequence of vowels: vée?ése 'tooth' (//vées-// <PA *wi·piči); máhtovóo?ótse 'ear' (//mahtovóot-// <PA *mehtawakayi); séo?ótse 'ghost' (//séot-// <PA *či·paya, with the generalization of -e as the singular ending of both animate and inanimate nouns that have not lost the final syllable); heséeo?ótse 'medicine' (//heséeot-// <PA *wečye·pihk- 'root' + *-ay-); véno?hóo?ótse 'tripe' (//véno?hóot-// <PA *wi·na·?θakayi 'rumen'); nemeo?ótse 'song'; and the words for 'penis' (cited above) and 'meat' (below). All but the first in this list end with a noun-final //-ot-// from PA *-ay-; perhaps this is the regular treatment before certain word-final -Ce sequences.

[15] I hope this is a fair summary of the hypothesis, which I find hard to follow in some places.

[16] There are several cases of Cheyenne initial p- from PA *p- (e.g. pe?e 'nighthawk', from PA *pi·škwa), but apparently no cases of the retention of initial *k-; note ókohke 'crow, raven, (Alford and Leman 1976.29); 'crow, little raven' (Petter 1915.187), from PA *ka·ka·kiwa 'raven' (with dissimilation of *...hk...hk to ...k...hk). There are also a number of Cheyenne forms which appear to show n from PA *k, and a couple apparently with n from *p: tonóéva 'fall, autumn' (< *takwa·ki-), henóme 'thigh' (< *wepwa·mi).

[17] The k-less variant of words with -ešk- sometimes has -eš- (Alford 1977.232); the status and history of these forms is uncertain.

[18] It might be observed incidentally in connection with the spread of -o?o (//-o//; cf. -o in 'feathers' in note 14) as the animate plural ending of vowel-stems that šé?šeo?o 'ducks', which is the expected phonetically regular reflex of the Proto-Algonquian plural, and perhaps other similar plurals could well have been the starting point from which this suffix was generalized.

[19] Davis (1962.36) writes this segment t^{y}, described as an alveopalatal stop, with the remark that it "is apparently replaced in some dialects by an affricate at the same point of articulation," which he writes č.

[20] Atsina, the northernmost member of the Arapaho subgroup of Algonquian, also has a men's speech characterized by palatalization: where the men have [č] and [t^{y}] (which may or may not be separate phonemes) the women have [k^{y}] (Flannery 1946; Salzmann 1969; Goddard 1974.103, footnote 2, last paragraph). Both synchronic and historical aspects of the Atsina case remain unclear, however.

Concepts of America, Amerindians and Acculturation

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Introduction

The French contact with the native peoples of the New World was interpreted in a variety of ways according to a wide range of intellectual constructs or conceptual frameworks. At the time of initial contact, beginning with the visits of Breton and Norman fishermen in the 15th century and the exploratory voyages and colonization ventures of the 16th century, there existed a two-fold problem of understanding this "other world" and its "natural" inhabitants as observed and of meaningfully depicting them to Frenchmen who had not visited the Americas.[1] As I have stated elsewhere (Jaenen 1976.12-40), the new knowledge of America and Amerindians posed fundamental problems for European philosophy and science, and especially for theology. As pointed out by Eisenstein (1968), perhaps the impact of printing, of the shift from script to print culture, in the 16th century on cultural attitudes has been too little emphasized by historians. Cole (1972) also points out that much of the printed matter of that period was designed to appeal to the masses of unlearned and partially educated Europeans.

Soon, a third level of rationalization evolved - this in the form of accomodation or "civilization" concepts. With the passage of time, the traditional conceptual frameworks were generally demonstrated to be inadequate to encompass the totality of America and of Amerindians. Some new conceptual frameworks were constructed. The more difficult problems of inter-group relations, or of cross-cultural contact, or of inter-racial association, stimulated the evolution of a theory, and sometimes of a policy, of accomodation and of assimilation. This also we will examine in this paper, but in the light of the two-way process of exchange and interaction between French and Amerindians known as acculturation.

Conceptual Frameworks

The first conceptual framework into which the French, like other Western Europeans, attempted to place the American "discoveries"[2] was that of "another world", an apparently more recently created or emerged strange New World.[3] The existence of such a world beyond the Pillars of Hercules and the British Isles had been the object of speculation for many centuries. It had survived in the legends of the sunken continent of Atlantis, in the mysterious Isles of the Ocean Sea, and especially in the illusive "island of Brazille". A Nuremberg chronicler in 1482 affirmed that a Spanish navigator had penetrated "to another world hitherto unknown to us but long sought after by the Genoese." But Amerigo Vespucci opined, in 1502, that "none of these regions were known to the Ancients...their existence surpassed the opinion of the Ancients."

This concept raised many interesting and controversial questions about not only the origins of the Amerindians and of the Americas but also about the origins and nature of all mankind and of the universe. Samuel Bochart (1712) argued in a pamphlet first published in 1647 that Adam was not the first man created: the pre-Adamites were the ancestors of the Gentiles and of the "daughters of men", with whom Adam's "sons of God" intermarried. Isaac de la Peyrère (1655) elaborated this thesis on the basis that six days of creation was too brief a period; he also speculated that Adam and Eve grew up from infancy and that Adam had refused to take a mate from among the lower creatures. In any case, it was an "infant world" as the essayist Michel de Montaigne (1957: 693) had described it.

Another early preconception or construct employed to understand and describe America and its Amerindian inhabitants was the myth of the Terrestrial Paradise, the idyllic lost Eden. Classical and mediaeval (particularly 12th and 13th century) tradition placed the rich paradisaical lands known variously as the Elysian Fields, Eden, Arcadia and Avalon in the mysterious unknown West. Samuel Bochart, Pierre-Daniel Huet (1691) and Jean Hardouin (1730) actually attempted to pinpoint its precise geographical location as late as the 17th and early 18th centuries.

Support for the view of the New World as the Terrestrial Paradise derived from the fact that the French colonizing attempts in Guiana in 1525, the Bay of Rio de Janeiro from 1555 to 1560, "Florida" (the Carolinas) from 1562 to 1565 were directed towards Edenic regions. The resplendant forests animated by multicoloured birds, brilliant flowers and shrubs, and an infinite variety of exotic insects, reptiles and animals, where natural men roamed naked (like Adam in the days of his innocence) and lived leisurely in this magnificent perfumed garden, reminded Europeans of the Lost Paradise.

Even when the lands "discovered" and explored did not correspond to the Lost Paradise of tradition, the conviction persisted that it was just ahead out of view. This credulity permitted Jean Ribault in the Carolinas and Jacques Cartier on the St. Lawrence to believe that the fabulous kingdom was soon to be reached. It seems that the St. Lawrence River valley, when robed in summer and autumnal beauty, could be fitted into the image of the luxuriant primeval forest. Champlain gave the Bay of Fundy region the name Acadie, probably a corruption of the classical Arcadia, the fruitfully idyllic region of the Peloponessus.

It has been argued that the view of the Terrestrial Paradise in the New World was in good measure the creation of the literary genius of Ronsard, Rabelais and Montaigne. The latter depicted the Amerindians in one of his essays in these terms:

> Those people are wild, just as we call wild the fruits that Nature has produced by herself and in her normal course; whereas really it is those that we have changed artificially and led astray from the common order, that we should rather call wild. (Montaigne 1963: 89)

Ronsard warned Villegaignon not to corrupt the Brazilian natives with state policies of francisation. (Armstrong 1968: 27-8) The Jesuit missionaries were careful to restrict their comments to similarities between the New World and the Garden of Paradise. The Relation of 1648 (Thwaites 1901: 283), for example, said:

> It seems as if innocence, banished from the majority of the Empires and Kingdoms of the World, had withdrawn into these great forests where these people dwell. Their nature has something, I know not what, of the goodness of the Terrestrial Paradise before sin entered it. Their practices manifest none of the luxury, the ambition, the avarice, or the pleasures that corrupt our cities.

This concept of the Earthly Paradise was at the origin of two interpretations of long-standing traditions in French literature relating to the Americas and Amerindians. Gilbert Chinard (1911 and 1913) gave eloquent expression to the thesis of exoticism which he believed had an unbroken and dominant influence beginning in the 16th century, acquiring greater precision in the 17th century, and blossoming fully in the 18th century. In fact, it may have been more representative of interests and interpretations in Chinard's day than in the 16th and 17th centuries.

The second theme, which Geoffrey Atkinson (1935 and 1971) delineated, was the extraordinary voyage, an extension beyond the early Renaissance of the tales of monstruous lands, fabled islands and idyllic kingdoms. He emphasized that if there was not much greater depth of understanding of primitive peoples, such as Amerindians, at least there was an enormous growth of interest in them by the mid-eighteenth century.

The natural men of early travel accounts were the precursors of the Noble Savages of eighteenth century primitivist literature. In philosophy, primitivism culminated with Rousseau's concept of man's state of greatest happiness, virtue and tranquillity being the hypothetical semi-savage state before he was enslaved by the institutions of property and government. In literature, primitivism culminated in the idealization of nature and an anti-intellectual distrust of the educated and sophisticated with its concomitant admiration for uncouth peasants, innocent children, and untutored aborigines. Baron de Lahontan's (1703: 133) sauvage de bon sens and Father Charlevoix's (1730: 1.37-9) Antillian tribesmen were the sweetest, most humane, unpretentious and happy people imaginable and may be taken as model bons sauvages.

A third conceptual framework employed to describe the New World and its inhabitants was the Utopian dream. In the New World, the poor, the downtrodden and the oppressed of the Old World might find a new life and a new hope. Those who had been kept back by misfortunes, and the persecuted, could here reap the just fruits of their honest labour. The New World offered Europeans the same freedom, equality and toleration as were enjoyed by Amerindian societies. Marc Lescarbot pictured Acadia as a haven for Frenchmen: "whoever finds himself oppressed over here," he wrote, "will be able

to pass over there and there pass his days at rest and without poverty." (Lescarbot 1610: 33-41) Nicolas Denys later added that "so many unfortunates who are healthy and who could work would they not be happier in that country than over here begging their living." (Denys 1670: 2-26) It will be noticed that this Utopian vision differed from the Lost Paradise in that it was not a land of ease and pleasure but it was a fruitful world where honest labour was well rewarded In other words, it was a humanist vision of a better world.

The Jesuit missionaries soon came to realize in Canada that their attempts to recapture the pristine purity of the Apostolic church would be immeasurably aided if the civil power were imbued with Utopian objectives. Thus we find Paul le Jeune saying:

> If those who will hold the reins of government in their hands are zealous towards the glory of our God, there will be raised here a Jerusalem blessed of God composed of citizens destined for Heaven. It is very easy in a new country, where the families will arrive all disposed to accept the laws which will be established there, to banish the evil customs of several places in old France, and to introduce better ones. (le Jeune 1636: 17-20)

Such Utopian colonies succeed only if there is unreserved commitment by all members, and if the projects can perpetuate themselves as closed societies sustaining neither defections nor accretions which divert adherents from the original ideals. Amerindian reservations like Sillery, founded in 1637, and the European colony of Ville-Marie (Société de Notre-Dame de Montréal pour la conversion des Sauvages, founded in 1642) were Utopian experiments.

By the 18th century, these Utopian ventures were consigned by and large to far-away fictitious islands and kingdoms, such as the Empire of Cantahar, the city of Philadelphoi and the Republic of the Agorians. Hurons were portrayed as landing in France, upsetting the Court, becoming involved with the Huguenots and Jansenists, but eventually becoming "civilized" and joining the army (Hazard 1967.6). The Femmes Militaires, for example, were cast in the Utopian mould of "savage peoples whom seem to have preserved their primitive innocence" and whose objective was to obtain the essentials of life as easily as possible, while avoiding "accumulation for a future they might never enjoy." (L.C.D. 1735: 197-8)

This latter image was closely related to a fourth intellectual construct - the Four Ages of mankind with emphasis on the Golden Age. This cyclical view of history depicted four world empires - Babylon, Persia, Greece, Rome - as representing four stages in human development and their corresponding ages of gold, silver, bronze and iron. The Golden Age was the greatest of these four ages; during that stage gold was the chief metal worked by men and it was neither overvalued nor lusted after. Indeed, it was an age of unsophisticated contentment and simplicity. This construct took on renewed importance when the Spaniards established sustained contact with the New World rich in gold where

Amerindians seemingly placed little value upon it. Just as each successive age had represented a deterioration of the human condition, until the Roman Empire ushered in the age of iron in which brute military force was used to attempt to hold together the realm, so salvation seemed to lay in the belief that the cycle would resume with the advent of another Golden Age. The discovery of America could be fitted into such a construct.

The abundance of Amerindian gold reported by the Spaniards seemed to confirm that America was the source of origins and of initial physical perfection, probably the centre of the world. Indeed, alchemists had long sought for the secret of life in gold. Peter Martyr (1885: 168) described the veins of gold as living trees and "the roote if the golden tree extendeth to the center of the earth and there taketh nourishment of increase."

A very outstanding conceptual framework was the mystical Catholic eschatology which absorbed the discoveries of a New World and of "new men" in the establishment of the Millennial Kingdom on earth and the imminent end of the world. According to this view, the New World was the Promised Land where the true spiritual believers would restore the church to its apostolic purity, and where the wandering Lost Tribes of Israel would be converted in preparation for the Parousia. Since the 13th century, mystics had looked for this fulfillment of the Third Age of the Holy Ghost.

According to this hope, many saw the Amerindians as completing the human family and the discoveries as completing the preaching of the Gospel to the ends of the earth. All the world would finally be brought under Christian domination (whether under Christian prince or the church was still in dispute) and be prepared for the assumption of Christ's personal rule. Some, of course, saw Divine intervention in the fact that the Catholic powers, notably Spain, were granted the New World; this was presumably to compensate for losses to Islam and the Protestant Reformation, and in the specific case of Spain, to recompense that power for five centuries of sustained opposition to the Moors.

The Amerindians were seen by some dévots, the visionary mystics who were overrepresented in the planning and execution of Canadian colonization and evangelisation in the early 17th century, as the Ten Lost Tribes. The latter, it was speculated, would recognize and accept the everlasting gospel and would form the nucleus of a regenerated model church in the New World similar in spirit and zeal to that of the Apostolic Age. From its ranks would come the last Sovereign Pontiff, an Amerindian Jew, who would remove the papal throne to Jerusalem and hand over the keys of the kingdom to Christ at his imminent return. Those familiar with the early history of New France will recognize the work of the semi-secret Company of the Holy Sacrament and of the dévots associated directly or indirectly with it - Bishop Laval, Governor Mézy, Mother Marie de l'Incarnation, the superiors of the seminaries at Québec and Montréal, the members of the Society of Notre-Dame de Montréal, many of the early Jesuit missionaries, to name but some of the principal zealots. Bishop Laval, for example, wished at one

point to confirm Amerindian children before French children because he saw them as representing the first-fruits of the New World Church; he organized his Seminary along paternalistic and centralized lines, not to defy the civil power or to satisfy a personal lust for power, but rather to restore the primitive pattern of the diocesan seminary. Mother Marie de l'Incarnation, Superior of the Ursulines at Québec, testified sincerely that she had come to Canada in fulfillment of a prophetic vision to assist in the conversion of Amerindians conceived as being "in the fervour of the first Christians of the Church". To a correspondent she wrote: "Add to this spirit of simplici[illegible] Amerindians) that of fervour, for we see in our P[illegible]hurch, the zeal and ardour of the primitive Church conve[illegible]ed by the Apostles." (Oury 1971: 26-7, 119-39) Father Allouez attacked those who had suggested that it was impossible to make true Christians of the Amerindians; he affirmed that not only are these true Christians among these savage peoples, but also that there are many more in proportion than in our civilized Europe. (Thwaites 1901: 58-85) Father Le Jeune had summarized the situation very succinctly as early as 1635:

> ...it seems as if God shed the dew of his grace much more abundantly upon this New France than upon the old, and that the internal consolations and the Divine infusions are much stronger here, and hearts more on fire. The Lord Knoweth who are his. (Thwaites 1901: 8-189)

Such assertions can be understood only in the context of the spiritual élitism of revivalistic Catholicism.

A sixth conceptual framework employed to understand and to describe the Amerindians was the Chain of Being. All creation was ranked in hierarchical fashion, beginning with the heavenly hosts at the top and running down to the human, animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms. The critical intervals were those between the angelic and human, and between the human and animal. Men could raise themselves through divine grace to the superhuman level of sainthood, and through disobedience of the divine ordinances could also fall into bestial abomination and a sub-human category. Incidentally, there were also super-animals such as werewolves mermaids, centaurs and unicorns. There were those who were above the ordinary human level because of their physical traits--e.g. giants and Amazons because of their superior size and strength, and nature nymphs because of their superior beauty. On the other hand, men could descend to the level of beasts, and so were viewed hermaphrodites, the Uros, witches and cannibals. Where did the Amerindians rank? Were they "truly men" and capable of receiving divine grace as the papal bulls of 1493, 1537 and 1639 had declared to allay contrary assertions?

So far as the French were concerned, the question of Amerindian placement in the chain of being had been raised directly for them in Johann Boemus' Recueil de diverses histoires which appeared in French in 1540. If they were

fully human in both the classical sense of rationality and the Christian sense of receptivity to divine grace, Francis I could proceed to challenge the Spanish and Portuguese division of the New World through promotion of French missionary work among the tribes of the northern hemisphere. Some missionaries thought that although the Amerindians were descendants of Adam, and therefore part of humanity for which Christ had offered Himself, they nevertheless required "humanizing". The Journal des Savants for 1724 praised Father Lafitau's Moeurs des sauvages amériquains for having given the lie to travel literature "in which the Savages are presented as beasts" and to atheistic arguments "which imagine almost a whole world of natives having no knowledge of any religion." In 1683, the missionary Allouez asserted that the Miamis and Illinois resented the English because "they look upon them (Amerindians) only as beasts, and that Paradise is not for that sort of people," whereas the French missionary was perceived as having very different sentiments, e.g. "that he looked upon them as men, in whom he recognizes the image of God who had created them...and who destined them to the same eternal bliss as the Europeans." (Thwaites 1901: 61.209-11)

Surprisingly, the discussion continued well into the 18th century. In 1784 de La Roche-Tilhac wrote these lines, when discussing their supposed "stupid insensibility" and attenuated emotional reactions:

> Superior to the animals, because they use their hands and tongue, they are really inferior to the least of the Europeans. Deprived at once of intelligence and of perfectibility, they obey only the impulses of their instincts... (la Roche-Tilhac 1784: 5)

Another philosophe argued that the Amerindians as natural men did not possess the qualities essential to "render them superior to the other animals": they were seen as lacking familial love and a developed sense of moral obligation. In other words, natural men or sauvages were not promising candidates for progress and perfectibility. (Lévesque 1775: 5-19)

In attempting to come to an understanding of the New World and of "new men", Frenchmen had turned to the traditional constructs and frameworks of their own culture and heritage. That these may have ill-suited peoples of very different cultural backgrounds and a continent which had unique features did not occur to many of them. The views of history and of the universe were Europocentric; it seemed to follow logically that America and Amerindians would have to be assimilated to the European models.

Anti-Images

The conceptual frameworks evoked to portray America and Amerindians called forth a series of anti-theses or counter-images. To the construct of a new and infant world one must oppose the contention that what had occurred in the 15th and

16th centuries was merely an extension of the European Atlantic world into areas known, at least speculatively, since Classical times. Sir Francis Bacon's The New Atlantis (1627) gave credence to the Atlantis legend. Horn in 1562 and Huet, bishop of Avranches, in 1679, spread the belief that the Phoenicians had been the first to set foot on American soil. Manassès Ben-Israel, in a curious book entitled L'Espoir d'Israel published in 1650, reported that Spaniards trekking through American jungles had been surprised to learn that their Amerindian guide was a descendant of the Lost Tribes and that he assured them that many of his compatriots were of the same origin as he. Among the Celtic contenders for the honour of discovering the New World were St. Brendan (582), Madoc (1170), and the Zeno brothers in the service of Prince Zichmi of the Orkneys (1378)...all claims advanced in the third quarter of the 16th century when Northern Europeans were intent upon contesting the Spanish/Portuguese division of the New World. Strangely enough, in this anti-image which stressed the extension of the Atlantic world I have found no mention of the Vikings before Carli's Lettres américaines published in 1788.[5] Carli refuted contemporary statements about the supposedly recent populating of the Americas in the following terms:

> All these facts taken together prove that there has always been some continuing Tradition of a large Continent beyond the Atlantic Ocean. Also, this Tradition tells us that Peoples coming from far-away Countries spread out over our Hemisphere. (Carli 1788: 2.49)

The anti-image of the Terrestrial Paradise was the Monstruous World of the Damned, the concept of the Amerindians as completely under the domination of Satan, possessed by a devilish power. This dark world of Satan was indeed the stage where a terrible struggle between the powers of light and of darkness was waged not only for Amerindian souls but also for imperilled Europeans. The missionary risked his life in the Canadian wilderness while the French traders and soldiers risked their salvation. Thévet (1575: 1018) explained that the Ile aux Démons off Labrador, for example, was inhabited by evil spirits. Moreover, the New World was sometimes perceived as the land of the barbarous Gog and Magog, descendants of Japhet. Cartier reported that there were unipeds on the Saguenay; the monstruous Gorgou forced Champlain to abandon an expedition; and Lafitau in 1724 included a man with his head in his chest (anecophale) among his Amerindians. Travel reports long recounted, in serious vein, that among the Eskimo there were men with tails and that many children were born with only one arm and one leg. It was not surprising to French readers of the period that Amerindians were monstruous in certain regions because they reportedly ate snakes, toads and lizards and it was widely believed that one acquired the characteristics of the food one ate. According to one widely diffused Amerindian tradition, all men were created originally with long-haired,

sleek and comely tails which their ancestors adorned with paint, beads and wampum. The ultimate proof, however, of the monstruous and devilish nature of the Amerindians was the belief that many of them were cannibals.

In opposition to the bon sauvage of the Chain of Being there was the wild forest man of insatiable appetites, l'homme sylvestre, who was little better than the beasts of the field and the insane children of Nebuchadnessar. The anti-image as applied to the Amerindians was a transference of the qualities of the hairy, sensual wildeman or wodeman who dwelt beyond the pale in the forests of Europe (Dickason 1976.3). This homme sauvage was even identified with the doorkeeper of the underworld and the imperfect men of West Africa - i.e. apes and gorillas. Louis Le Roy (1576: 25-27) blamed the low status of Amerindians in the chain of being on their subsistence through hunting rather than through pastoral or agricultural pursuits. Just as the Spaniards in the early 16th century had employed the Aristotelian thesis of natural slavery to supposedly inferior Amerindians, so Baudry de Lozières (1802) (who collected Amerindian oral traditions and was looked upon in France as an authority on native cultures) revived the theory in France at the end of the 18th century.

In opposition to the Utopian image of a reborn, progressive and liberated New France there developed the thesis of colonial degeneracy. The early reports of a world possessing ni foi, ni roi, ni loi took on an additional meaning of anarchy and chaos. The naturalist Buffon in developing his thesis of the inferiority of American animals concluded that the environment and the nature of the hemisphere were "hostile" and therefore the Amerindian was "scarce in number, was thinly spread, a wanderer" who could not dominate his environment. He added that the Amerindian was "no more than an animal of the first order, existing within nature as a creature without significance, a sort of helpless automaton, powerless to change nature or assist her." (Buffon 1828: 15.443-6) This argument was elaborated further by Cornelius De Pauw (1768: 1.35, 221; 2.102, 153-5) into a thesis of complete colonial degeneracy - i.e. that plants, animals, men and institutions degenerated in the New World. De Pauw's counter-image of America as weak and corrupt because it was inferior and degenerated, of Amerindians as incurably lazy, idiot children incapable of any intellectual progress, spawned an important and voluminous polemical literature as views became polarized.[6] Even Buffon, who had been somewhat responsible for creating the anti-image of the fruitful New World, reacted to De Pauw's thesis by questioning the degeneration of America because "Nature, far from being degenerate through old age there, is on the contrary recently born and has never existed there with the same force, the same active power as in the norther countries." (Buffon 1828: 5.225, 284) That Amerindians were degenerate men he also doubted, because the Iroquois, Huron and Caribs had demonstrated greater endurance and strength than Europeans and it was impossible to conceive that "beings just created can be in a state of decrepitude" as De Pauw

alleged. Buffon (1828: 12.434-39) saw them as being in a state of infancy or caducity. Peter Kalm, who visited New France as well as the Anglo-American colonies, accepted the degeneracy thesis and he added that Frenchmen often adopted the Amerindian way of life, a barbarization process, but rarely did the latter adopt the European customs in order to elevate themselves and progress. His views were given wide circulation in France through Rousselot de Surgy's Histoire naturelle et politique de la Pensylvanie (1768), which was based largely on his travel account.

Numerous Intendants and senior officiers of the troupes de terre stationed in Canada in the 18th century seem to have shared the view that in the colony institutions tended to deteriorate and lose their metropolitan vigour, while men lost their "old country" discipline and conformity. Colonial degeneracy was a facile explanation for those who wondered why the francisation policy of Colbert and Louis XIV had never succeeded, why the missionary efforts had produced a limited number of converts and virtually no religious vocations, and why the Canadian-born French were inclined to take on native traits, to be indolent and independent, and to show disrespect for constituted authority. An anti-colonialist sentiment in 18th century France made much of "the obvious evils of the inflation caused by the importation of gold, the supposed introduction of syphilis from America, and the failure of France's colonial ventures, particularly's Law's scheme to colonize Louisiana." (Echeverria 1968: 6-7) Little wonder Montesquieu opined that men should not emigrate because colonization depopulated the motherland and weakened the colonizing stock. Little wonder, too, that Voltaire saw little reason to conserve a "few acres of snow".

Evolving Concepts and Sterotypes

These images and anti-images did not remain static. Rather, there was an evolution of ideas and new sterotypes were created. A dynamic experience in America with Amerindian populations challenged the Europocentric view of the world and of history. This was manifested in France itself. In addition, nearly all Amerindian tribes believed they inhabited the centre of the world and that they were the descendants of the first men created; such concepts were communicated to 18th century Frenchmen. Just as the Amerindians did not accept European views and constructs uncritically, so the French Canadians did not accept metropolitan cadres unquestioningly.

Thus the concept of the a New World and of "new men" rapidly came to signify a reunified universe, as Jean Bodin (Mesnard 1941) had written (1576) that "all men have become brothers and share miraculously in the universal republic, as if they formed one same city." La Popelinière had echoed the same idea in 1599:

> All the people of the world, formerly barbarians, savages, and enemies or completely unknown to each other, now know, frequent, love, and help one

> another, and even seem to converse ordinarily in this world as in one city. (Hanser 1930: 55)

By the 18th century, in this "global village", America was no longer solely a source of precious metals, cod, furs, sugar and tobacco, but it was also becoming a place of ideas and of institutions.

Indeed, the abbé Raynal prophetically articulated the thesis of the glorious future of this Western hemisphere:

> If any happy revolution come to the world, it will be through America. Although it was once laid waste this new world will flourish in its time, and perhaps dominate the old...the savage inhabitants will become civilized, and persecuted foreigners will there find refuge. (Raynal 1821: 6.174)

The abbé Galiani linked Raynal's view to the thesis of the Four Monarchies and the idea of the recompense of Catholic Europe for holding off the Moors. Thus, America would come to dominate because "genius moves in the contrary fashion to the diurnal motion," he wrote, "and has been going from East to West for the last five thousand years, without exception." (Galiani 1881: 2.553)

This concept of the Westward movement of genius was linked to a view of progress. The debates over primitivism had come to insist on the value of simple, spontaneous and unsophisticated goodness. This pattern of common humanity was sought in the earliest ages of history or in isolated places not yet contaminated by civilization. There was exhibited a certain feeling of rebelliousness, a discontent with the status quo and a need to overthrow traditional institutions. The Golden Age was not in the past, in the view of many writers. Therefore, there developed new concepts of continuity in history, and the myth of progress was born. Many of the details of Amerindian life, as first reported in Europe, continued to stimulate intellectual curiosity and controversy. The nudity of the savages, for example, continued in the 18th century to be interpreted by some as an indication of their depravity and lack of moral sense, while by others it was looked upon as quite natural behaviour for innocent aborigines. The abbé Prévost (1785: 5.125) wrote that if properly understood "the shame of being naked is not a natural sentiment" but rather it was "a prejudice of education and the simple effect of custom." The "Garden paradise of pleasure and a life of ease", to take another example, became a garden paradise where wealth could only be expected as a reward for man's labour.

The missionary Du Tertre (1654: 3, 63; 1667: 1.1) had been among the first to enunciate the thesis of French superiority to the English and Spaniards in native contacts and in compatibility with Amerindians. French writers took particular delight in propagating the Black Legend of Spanish atrocities and lust for gold in the New World. (Chaunu 1964) The thesis of French sympathy for aborigines, their facility

of assimilation, and the absence of racism, enjoyed continuous popularity and was transmitted to Canadian historiography through the influence of abbé Faillon's and Francis Parkman's writings.

Conversely, the thesis that the French did not possess the capacity for successful colonization because of "national character", defects such as impatience and inconstancy, enjoyed an equally long popularity from the time of its first expression in 1591. (Du Bartis 1591: vii, 86) Again, it was Francis Parkman (1969: 1.49) and Paul Leroy-Beaulieu (1891: 140-1) who imprinted in our historiography this thesis that the French excelled at exploration, evangelization and indigenuous relations, but they lacked the patient laboriousness necessary for successful colonization.

The myth of the Millenial Kingdom survived in the concept of the Providential mission of the French "race" and the Catholic religion in North America. Bishop Bossuet affirmed in 1681 that "the true science of history is to note in each period those secret dispositions (of God) which have prepared the great changes, and the important combination of events which have made them happen." (Velat and Champailler. 953) Frenchmen came to understand, as the fires of the Catholic revivalistic enthusiasm of the early 17th century cooled, that the mystical vision had been somewhat distorted. Divine Providence must have further works for Catholics to accomplish before the millenium: they were to civilize and Christianize the native peoples and they were to act as a leaven to bring new life to the entire American continent. In other words, vis-à-vis the Amerindians they were entrusted with a mission civilisatrice, and vis-à-vis other Euro-Americans they were entrusted with a Providential mission.

There are a number of other intellectual constructs to which we have made reference. The theory of recurring world cycles, the view of the gradual progress of mankind, the concept of infinite perfectibility, the idea of geographic or climatic determinism - to name a few - contributed to the emergence in the 1750s of Turgot's Four Stages theory of cultural development. This theory held that societies progressed through successive stages according to their modes of subsistence, not according to different modes of political organization or some other kind of 'life cycle'. (Meek 1976: 5-7) Fontenelle had speculated that the Iroquois and primitive Greeks possessed cultural similarities, therefore "there is cause to believe that the barbarians of America would in the end have come to think as rationally as the Greeks, if they had been allowed the time to do so." (Fontenelle 1752: 3.288-9) Montesquieu had postulated that hunters could never form great and populous nations, and he cited the Amerindians as proof. Lafitau had suggested that Amerindian hunting and fishing society could be regarded as a living model of human society in the first stage of its development. It was Turgot who finally brought these ideas together in a thesis, probably while at the Sorbonne in 1749-51. He asserted that all mankind progressed through the four successive ascending stages of hunting, pastoral, agricultural and commercial subsistence. (Schelle 1913·

1.255-74) Thus, America and the Amerindians became valuable in substantiating a framework for the construction of socio-economic histories of mankind's development. This theory of development, which emphasized the ignoble savage with the most primitive mode of subsistence, would eventually evolve into the Marxian concept of "mode of production" in the 19th century.

The stimulation provided by America and Amerindians was important in the development of historical models, intellectual constructs and conceptual frameworks applicable to all periods and phases of human development.

Acculturation

Who would have imagined that the Micmac fishermen and Montagnais hunters inspired developmental theory which culminated, in one case, in Marxist historical materialism? The historian who understands the process of acculturation is not shocked by such an assertion. For truly, cultural contact is a two-way stream, an experience characterized by inter-change, intercourse and interface in which European participants are as affected as are Amerindian participants. It has long been part of our historiography to portray the native peoples as recipients, as those who responded to, or reacted to stimuli from European activities. It is time we saw the French as recipients, as those who responded and reacted to the New World, new men and new experiences.

What I believe I have learned from the anthropologists and ethnologists is to reject the civilization/savagery polarity and to employ instead the concept of acculturation between societies in contact. This approach immediately relegates the significance of the frontier thesis of Frederick Jackson Turner, the Protestant ethic approach of Francis Parkman, and the ideological frameworks of the French Canadian Nationalist school to the periphery for understanding cultural contact. On the other hand, the Bolton thesis that all European peoples encountered the New World and its inhabitants with a similar set of ideas and constructs deserves reconsideration. Also, Philip Boucher's thesis that Gilbert Chinard tended to see noble savages where there were none and that the French experience in the Lesser Antilles and at Cayenne (Guiana) did not follow the Canadian pattern of dependency on, rather than displacement of, the aborigines seems sound. (Boucher 1974) Louis Hartz' thesis that fragment cultures "heighten consensus by shrinking the European social universe" so that immigrants tend to reassure themselves of their own civilization by emphasizing the savagery of the aborigines is worth further investigation. (Hartz 1969: 109) Were the French more anti-native than the Canadians or were Canadians more attached to preconceptions? Philip Mason's theory that there is a significant correlation between racial intolerance and insecurity might also be investigated to test if, in New France, there was an insecurity among habitants, troops, administrators and missionaries, and if so with what relative importance for each group. (Mason 1970)

The canons of historical interpretation of European-aboriginal cultural contact would appear to be clear. Both cultures must be understood in their own terms and contructs. Contact exerpiences must not only be identified and described but also be interpreted in the manner perceived by each of the participants. Knowledge and evidence from all the disciplines must be brought to bear on contact experience in order to elucidate the values and moral assumptions of the aboriginal pre-literate culture, which is otherwise seen only through European documents. Documents are interpretations as well as records of events; nevertheless, contemporary reports must be given credit for being participatory records.

Charles Bishop's three categories of Amerindian response to European contact - i.e. augmentation, or the process whereby certain aspects of their culture are modified to incorporate new elements; replacement, or the loss of traditional customs; reinterpretation, or the process whereby a practice takes on a new meaning or function (Bishop 1974) - apply equally well to European responses to contact with aboriginal peoples.

Edward Larrabee's use of themes and sequences to examine contacts is quite useful. He distinguishes between coincident themes where Amerindian and European behaviour and concepts find a middle or "common factor of interests and intentions", and conflict themes where there is no common ground. (Larrabee 1976) What emerges quite clearly for the historian of New France is that the nature of most French-Amerindian contacts, compared to the Delaware-English contact studied by Larrabee, made for more coincidental themes and fewer conflict themes in the French experience than in the English experience.

All these comparatively recent contributions to the subject having been considered, we maintain the position adopted in Friend and Foe:

> The French discovery of America brought together many threads to form a twisted skein of perceptions of the New World and its peoples. Theories of lost continents and prehistoric migrations, mingled with myths of concurrent creations and cataclysmic displacements of populations, these in turn being overlaid by tales of fabled isles and monstruous lands given over to the devil, fed the imaginative and beckoned the venturesome... (Jaenen 1976: 191)

The significance of all this was aptly restated by the Director of the Center for the History of the American Indian at the Newberry Library:

> This is a very different lesson from the conventional thesis expressed in the preface to Kennedy's Jesuit and Savage: "Europe imported the idea of the savage from North America." Importing a few Indians is not importing an idea. Savagery was an idea manufactured in Europe from mostly

> European materials and exported to America along with explorers, missionaries, and colonizers. (Jennings 1971: 515)

We are only now beginning to discover what America and the Amerindians exported!

NOTES

[1] The Huguenot pastor, Jean de Léry (1578: 127), concluded after visiting the French colony in Brazil that it was virtually impossible to describe the Amerindians to Frenchmen at home. "Their gestures and countenances are so different from ours, that I confess to my difficulty in representing them in words, or even in pictures. So, to enjoy the real pleasures of them, you will have to go and visit their country."

[2] The idea that America was a new or later world, a more recent geological and biological creation, had a long history and gained scientific respectability in the mid-18th century. Voltaire (1736) adopted the polygenetic theory and stated that the New World was a younger continent, the Amerindians were a later creation than Europeans, and that climate and physical environment in America had debilitating effects on all living things. The abbé Raynal (1821: 9.23) believed that Amerindian sexual passivity was a proof of "an organic imperfection, a sort of infancy of the people of America".

[3] Jones (1964) is the classic work on the subject.

[4] Peter Martyr of Anghiera (1885: 173) described this salubrious and fertile New World (in 1555) as a fruitful haven in which natives wandered "in the goulden world, without toil, lyvinge in open gardens, not entrenched with dykes, dyvyded with hedges, or defended with waules."

[5] There was a doctoral thesis written on the Vikings in North America by Westerman in 1747 at the University of Abo. The thesis supervisor was Peter Kalm, Finnish botanist and engineer, who visited New France and published his travels.

[6] Dom Pernetty, Frederick the Great's librarian, attacked De Pauw's views in Dissertation sur l'Amérique (Berlin, 1790), to which De Pauw replied in Défense de Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains (Berlin, 1790), which invited Pernetty's rejoinder, Examen des Recherches philosophiques (Berlin, 1771). Gerbi (1973), has details of the controversy throughout Western Europe. De Pauw was recognized as the "authority" on American questions and was invited to write the section on "Américains" for the new supplement to the Encyclopédie of 1776.

[7] See F.X. Charlevoix (1730: 1.38). For Amerindian views see Jaenen (1974).

Did the First Eskimos Speak Algonquian?[1]

J. Garth Taylor
National Museum of Man

The Algonquian origin of the name Eskimo[2] has been acknowledged by all but a very few Americanists.[3] As used to-day, Eskimo is a general term including speakers of both Inupik (Eastern Eskimo) and Yupik (Western Eskimo) languages. It has been generally assumed that the name was originally used in reference to speakers of Inupik, the eastern subdivision within the general category of languages now called Eskimo. A reanalysis of historical source material suggests that this may not be the case, and that the name Eskimo may have originally referred to neither Inupik- nor Yupik-speakers, but to a local group of Algonquian Indians.

Perhaps the earliest published appearance of the name Eskimo is found in Haykluyt's (1877.88) 1584 "Discourse on Western Planting", indicating that the term was already known to European navigators in the late 16th century. In putting forward the economic advantages of colonization, Haykluyt suggested the following:

> What shoulde I speake of the customes of the greate multitudes of course clothes, Welshe frise, and Irishe ruggs, that may be uttered in the more northerly parts of the lande among the Esquimawes of the Graunde Bay, and amonge them of Canada, Saguynay, and Hochelaga, which are subject to sharpe and nippinge winters...

Although it has been usually taken for granted that the "Esquimawes" in this reference were Inuit (Birket-Smith 1929.2.58; Benveniste 1953.244), there is nothing in the quote itself which would support such an assumption. Certainly Haykluyt's suggestion that the "Esquimawes" would, like the natives of "Canada, Saguynay and Hochelaga", be good customers for those wishing to "utter" or trade warm European cloth goods would hint more of an Indian population. The tailored skin clothing of the Inuit has been often exhalted as the ultimate in cold-weather protection and has shielded them from the "sharpe and nippinge winters" until very recent times. All that can be definitely stated about the "Esquimawes" referred to by Haykluyt is that they lived in the "Graunde Bay", which then indicated the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

The "Esquimawes" of Haykluyt's time may be the same people referred to three decades later in the Relation of the Jesuit Pierre Biard[4] (1616.69) who called them Excomminquois or Excomminqui (Biard 1612.67) noting that they were commonly also known as the "Excommunicated". Thalbitzer (1914.293; 1950.564) has argued that the latter was the original form, and that Eskimo is derived therefore from European rather than Algonquian sources. This

argument was rejected by both Birket-Smith (1929:2.59) and Benveniste (1953.243) on ecclesiastical and historical grounds. While agreeing with the latter authors on this particular point, I would again suggest that they were not justified in assuming that the Excomminquois were Inuit.

Biard's remarks on the "Excomminquois" are too brief to justify any precise ethnic identification, although he does make a few interesting comments about their relationship with Europeans. At some time in the past the Excomminquois were said to have enjoyed very peaceful relations with the French, but this had apparently degenerated in Biard's time to "irreconcilable enmity" (Biard 1612.67). Biard was told that this state of constant warfare, which still inflicted great harm on "our people" (the French) every year, was started by "certain Basques" who tried to commit a "wicked outrage" (Biard 1616.69). As with Haykluyt's "Esquimawes" the most certain thing about the Excomminquois was their location, now described as the shores and rivers of the northern coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

People referred to as "Esquimaux" appear in subsequent 17th century sources as the victims of raids conducted by Indians from the Gaspé region. These raids are mentioned often in the early accounts of the Jesuits, who were operating missions in the Gaspé region by 1629 (Lalemant 1660.61).[5] In one of the earliest documented raids, which must have occurred around 1623, a ten year old "Esquimau" boy had been taken as a slave (La Place 1648.133). This captive was still living as a "menial" to a family of Gaspé Indians in Chaleur Bay thirteen years later. Indians from the Gaspé region also seem to have launched war parties against the "Esquimaux" in 1657 (Lalemant 1660.65) and again in 1661 (Lalemant 1663.221).

Reports of these raids contain interesting details about the manner in which the Gaspesian Indians waged war, but like earlier sources they tell little more about the "Esquimaux" than their geographic location. At this time the "Esquimaux" were described by one Jesuit as being at the extreme northeastern end of New France, at about 52 degrees of latitude and 330 of longitude (Lalemant 1660.65). A contemporary map employing the same system of co-ordinates (Bressani 1657) indicates that this was just opposite the west end of Anticosti Island.[6]

In spite of the sparse data concerning these "Esquimaux" victims of the early 17th century Gaspesian raids, it is possible to infer something about ethnic identity from their location and their relationship to neighbouring people. According to a map of 1660 (Ducreux 1664.46) their nearest neighbours to the west were the Bersiamites.[7] These people are described in a Jesuit account as "some allies of the Esquimaux" (Raguenau 1653.233). Like the "Esquimaux" the Bersiamites were also the victims of attacks from the Gaspesian Indians (Vimont 1646.35; Lalemant 1663.231).[8] Since the Bersiamites were Algonquian Indians, it is unlikely that their "Esquimaux" allies, who shared an almost identical environment, were Inuit. Such an alliance would run counter to the general pattern of relations between Algonquian and Inuit people in early historic times.

It is not until Jesuits from Canada started working downriver from Tadoussac that missionary records make definitive statements about the cultural and linguistic identity of the "Esquimaux" inhabitants of the St. Lawrence Gulf. One of the first Jesuits to work in their immediate vicinity was Father Louis Nicholas, whose reconnaissance visit to Sept-Iles in 1673 took him further east along the north shore than any of his predecessors. There can be no doubt that in Nicholas' view the name "Esquimaux" indicated a local group of Algonquian-speaking Indians.

In a memorandum written in 1673 Nicholas stated that a missionary at Sept-Iles could expect to see only the Papinachois[9] from "above" [upriver], but from "below" [downriver] he could expect the Oumamiwetch, who were "a nation of eskimeaux" and possibly even the "Esquimeaux" themselves (Nicholas 1673.57). According to Nicholas, who was a highly competent Algonquian linguist, all of these "nations" spoke "nearly the same tongue", the foundation of which he believed to be Montagnais. However, he noted that this dialect was very different from that of the people who came to Tadoussac.

Other records of this period suggest that some of the "Esquimaux" were converting to Christianity and leaving their former homeland for the Tadoussac region. The Jesuit missionary Francois de Crespieul, who lived among the Montagnais from 1671 to 1703, reported that he was joined by a family of "Esquimaux" while his party was travelling up the Saguenay, beyond Lake St. John (Crespieul 1672.77). He claimed they were Christian converts who had fled from their fellow countrymen to escape from being strangled for having received baptism. About five years later the same missionary reported that the "Esquimaux", among other tribes, were delighted with his new chapel at Chicoutimi (Crespieul 1677.245).

Frank Speck (1931.561) has argued that these references to fugitive "Esquimaux" in the Saguenay are evidence of an extensive Inuit occupation in the interior of southeastern Labrador. However, in the Jesuits' Second Register of Tadoussac, covering the period 1669-96, Crespieul has left many references to baptisms, marriages and burials of the people he called "Esquimaux".[10] On the basis of these references Burgesse (1949.25) has concluded that the "Esquimaux" of Crespieul were "a people of Algonkian culture". Since Crespieul was not the only priest to make entries in the Tadoussac Register, the use of the term "Esquimaux" for these Algonquian Indians was probably commonplace among the Jesuits of this period. Many of the "Esquimaux" cognomens in the Register display Montagnais forms (Burgesse 1949.24), which is consistent with Louis Nicholas' observations on the Montagnais affinities of the "Esquimaux" language. At any rate, all are clearly Algonquian names; none show any Inupik features.

Further evidence that the "Esquimaux" of this period were Algonquian-speaking Indians is provided by a manuscript entitled "Prieres en Algonkin, Montagnaix, Abanaki, Aesquimaux" (Crespieul 1676). This manuscript, which has been attributed to Crespieul, contains a few

prayers in the "Aesquimaux" language (Confiteur and Ave Maria). These are definitely in an Algonquian and not an Inupik dialect.[11]

It seems, therefore, that the missionaries working in the St. Lawrence region during the 17th century were speaking of an Algonquian Indian population, and not of Inuit, when they used the term "Esquimaux". In this matter they were probably following established usage, and it seems reasonable to suggest that Haykluyt's earlier mention of "Esquimawes" in the Gulf of St. Lawrence points to the same people and not to an early occupation of Inuit, as has commonly been assumed. These suppositions are consistent with archaeological findings in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which so far reveal considerable evidence of Indian occupation but very little of early historic Inuit.[12]

This usage of the name Eskimo, in all its early variants, may have been current for over a century before the term was used in its more recent sense as an appelation for Inuit. Until the late 17th century, long after "Esquimaux" was applied to Algonquian-speakers in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, Arctic explorers did not use any specific name to distinguish the Inuit they encountered in northern Labrador, Greenland, Baffin Island and Hudson Bay from other Amerindian populations. Instead, the Inuit were usually referred to by the same common terms applied to widespread native peoples at that time, such as "savage" (Prickett 1610) and "barbarian" (de Poincy 1658.201).

One of the earliest applications of "Esquimaux" to people who can be identified with reasonable certainty as Inuit occurs in the 1683 account of a sea voyage from Canada to Hudson Bay. It was recorded that the explorers Groseilliers and Radisson went ashore on the northern coast of Labrador and traded with people whom they called the "sauvages nommes Esquimos" (Radisson 1683.8). Both the northerly location, which was given as 57° 30',[13] and the fact that they traded for sealskins, make it highly likely that the explorers were dealing in this case with Inuit. Other French explorers (Jolliet 1964.16) and writers (Lahontan 1703.306) soon adopted the name "Esquimaux" for Inuit, though for many years the French used it only for the Inuit of Labrador, which had become known on maps as "Terre du Labrador ou des Esquimaux" (De l'Isle 1702).

The reason for the extension of the name Eskimo to Labrador Inuit at this time may have been related to population shifts in southeastern Labrador. The Algonquian "Esquimaux", who had long been subjected to attacks from more southerly Algonquian tribes, were probably displaced even further by the eastward expansion of French settlers and their Montagnais allies toward the end of the 17th century. By the time Fort Pontchartrain was founded at the mouth of the St. Paul River in 1702 there are no more references in the documentary sources to an indigenous population of Algonquian "Esquimaux". The commander of the Fort did, however, mention a "savage nation" who lived in the country with no knowledge of French (Courtemanche 1705). This group may have been Algonquian "Esquimaux" who had withdrawn into the northern interior. Such a

movement is further suggested by a map of the Jesuit missionary P.M. Laure (1733), which shows the "Esquimaux" living very far inland to the north of Lake Ashuanipi.[14] The ultimate fate of the Algonquian "Esquimaux" following their withdrawal to the interior remains a subject for further research.

During the same period that the Algonquian "Esquimaux" seem to have been disappearing from the coasts of southeastern Labrador, Inuit from the Atlantic coast were making forays into the Strait of Belle Isle to obtain European boats and other materials (Jolliet 1694.196). These journeys occurred during the summer months, when Europeans were also most numerous in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and contact between roving Inuit and European fishing vessels had become commonplace. It seems reasonable to assume that the mariners of the period, informed by tradition and their sea charts that southeastern Labrador was inhabited by "Esquimaux", would apply that name to the native people they were encountering in increasing numbers - the Inuit.

The application of the name "Esquimaux" to Inuit people must have created some confusion among those in New France who had long since been using the same word for the Algonquian "Esquimaux". It was perhaps in an attempt to clear up this confusion that some French writers toward the end of the 17th century started distinguishing between "petits Eskimaux" and "grands Eskimaux". One of the first to make this distinction was le Clercq (1691.453) who said that those "Sauvages" who lived on the north shore at the mouth of the St. Lawrence River were called "petits Eskimaux" to distinguish them from the "grands", who lived at the Bay des Espanols where the Basques fished for cod. The latter place is the modern Bradore Bay, at the west end of the Strait of Belle Isle.

It seems reasonable to infer that the two groups distinguished by this new terminology were the traditional Algonquian inhabitants of the north shore and the Labrador Inuit, who were making summer excursions into the Belle Isle area. This inference is supported not only by the relative geographic location of the two groups, but also by the observation that it was the "Petits Eskimaux" who dreaded the Gaspesians (le Clercq 1691.453), suggesting that these were the victims of the Micmac raids which had occurred earlier in the century. If the above inference is correct, the adjectives "petits" and "grands" probably referred to relative population size rather than somatic features of individuals.[15] This distinction between "petits Eskimaux" and "grands Eskimaux" was apparently short-lived, probably outliving its usefulness when the "petits Eskimaux" dropped from public view.[16]

Once the name Eskimo was applied to the Inuit of Labrador, it was not long until it was extended to closely related groups of Inuit in neighbouring areas. The earliest published references to Eskimo beyond the boundaries of Labrador occur in English sources from the west coast of Hudson Bay. Less than a decade after Radisson had applied the name "Esquimo" to the Labrador Inuit, Henry Kelsey

complained that his companion on a journey north of Churchill would not suffer him to speak aloud "in pretense ye Eskemoes would hear us" (Kelsey 1612.27). In 1717 James Knight also spoke of Eskimo to the north of Churchill (Knight 1932.115). By 1741 the name was also used for Inuit of Baffin Island, where Capt. Coats (1852.15) reported trading with "many Usquemows" at the Middle Savage Islands.

The existence of an Algonquian "Esquimaux" population during the early historic period raises questions about the etymology of the word Eskimo. Conventional wisdom now holds that the word is derived from an Algonquian word meaning "eaters of raw meat", which though not completely accurate as a description of Inuit[17] would appear to be even less appropriate as a description of Algonquian Indians. Here it should be noted that the early proponents of the "raw meat" etymology were much more cautious than those who have accepted it in more recent times. For example, in suggesting at a very early date that the name Eskimo may have originated with the Abenaqui word esquimantsic, eaters of raw flesh, Charlevoix (1744.262) stated that the origin is not certain. Later authors have proposed other origins, such as the Cree wiyaskimowok, eaters of raw flesh, or the Cree ayaskimewok, those who do things in secret (Petitot 1876). One neglected claim that should probably be reconsidered is Thalbitzer's (1914.542) proposal that the true derivation of the word Eskimo comes from southern Algonquian groups and that its original meaning was not "raw-meat eater" but "living-meat eater" or "man-eater".[18] Certainly a review of all the Algonquian terms resembling Eskimo in form and a reanalysis by someone with competence in Algonquian linguistics would be helpful at this time. Meanwhile, it is important to remember that the "raw meat" etymology is nothing more than an assumption.

By way of summary, a critical reappraisal of documentary and cartographic evidence suggests that the meaning of the name Eskimo has gone through a number of important changes during the past four centuries. In earliest historic sources the term seems to have referred to a group of Algonquian Indians inhabiting southeastern Labrador, within the Gulf of St. Lawrence. In the late 17th century the application of the name was extended to also include the Inuit of Labrador, a group which were becoming more obvious to Europeans just as the original Algonquian "Esquimaux" were becoming less obvious. From the Inuit of Labrador, the name Eskimo was later extended to include other Inupik-speakers of the eastern Arctic. Finally it was extended even further to its present use as a general term for both Inupik- and Yupik-speakers. The fact that Eskimo once referred to a group of Algonquian Indians appears to have been long forgotten.

NOTES

[1] I am grateful to Dr. Gordon Day and to David Pentland for helpful suggestions during the preparation of this paper.

[2] This is the Danish spelling which has been adopted in many languages, including English, in preference to the older French spelling "Esquimaux".

[3] Two of those who have disputed this origin are Thalbitzer (1950.564) and Richardson (1851:1.340).

[4] Biard, who was one of the first Jesuit priests in North America, commenced his missionary work at Port Royal in Acadia.

[5] Such raids may have ceased by the last quarter of the century, for the Recollet missionary Christien le Clercq, who arrived in Gaspesia in 1675, speaks of the wars which the Gaspesians formerly fought against the "Eskimaux" and other Indians along the banks of the St. Lawrence River (le Clercq 1691.2).

[6] The Bressani map refers to the "Esquimaux" as "Eschimaldi"; a slightly later map entitled Tabula Novae Franciae Anno 1660 (Ducreux 1664.46) shows them in the same location but refers to them as the "Natio Esquimaux-iorum". These obvious latinisms were probably derived from the French term.

[7] Both groups are located in what appears to be the general vicinity of Sept-Iles.

[8] During these raids it was common to take scalps (Vimont 1646.38) and, as in the raids on the "Esquimaux" to make slaves of the captives (LaPlace 1647.133; Lalemant 1660. 69).

[9] The Papinachois are considered to be a Montaqnais group. As the "Papinachiouekhi", they were described a decade earlier as "good friends to the French and to the latter's allies" (Lalemant 1663.221). They are probably the Oupapinachouets shown on a 1660 map (Ducreux 1664.46) as occupying the Labrador interior west of Lake St. John and north of the St. Lawrence watershed.

[10] This manuscript is located in the archives of the archdiocese of Québec; unfortunately the first Register does not seem to have been preserved (Burgesse 1949.24).

[11] On the basis of a partial examination of the manuscript David Pentland (p.c.) has suggested that the "Abenaki" and "Aesquimaux" prayers, which seem to be in old Odawa, may have been added to the manuscript by somebody other than Crespieul at a later time. Thus, these two columns may be suspect as samples of these specific dialects. It still seems significant, however, that the person who labelled them, presumably a Jesuit, did consider the "Aesquimaux" to be another Algonquian language.

[12] The archaeological evidence has been reviewed in another paper (Taylor 1977) and will not be discussed again here.

[13] This must have been somewhere in the general region of Okak, a Moravian mission station founded almost a century later (1776).

[14] The Laure map places the "Esquimaux" north of a group called the "Ouneskapiouetzs" who may, from their location north of Lake Ashuanipi, be equated with the Kuneskapi that Speck (1931.559) maintains are forerunners of the Naskapi.

[15] The Inuit were said to exist "en grand nombre" (Jolliet 1693.169).

[16] The "Little Eskimaux" continue to appear on some maps (Dunn 1776) published long after their disappearance from the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

[17] Though Inuit have traditionally eaten some raw meat, they have also cooked a good deal.

Lafitau (1724.56) also proposed the idea that "Eskimaux" seemed to be formed from Abenaqui eskimantsic, which he translated "ceux qui mangent cru".

[18] Thalbitzer's suggestion is consistent with the fact that the Algonquian "Esquimaux" were regarded by their neighbours as being "addicted" to cannibalism (Biard 1612.67). This opinion may have been expressed by Algonquian visitors who spoke with Biard at Port Royal. In this context, it is interesting that Eastern Cree informed Skinner (1911.79) that in ancient wars "it was customary for the victor to eat a piece of fat cut from the thigh of the slain enemy".

A Historical Overview of Cree Dialects

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The first records of Cree are place names noted by various French explorers and missionaries. They cast little light on the early dialects, but do provide surprising evidence of a Cree presence in areas where it has not been recorded since the seventeenth century.

Cree is the only Algonquian language in which *?t regularly becomes st, so that any place name ending in -stik (< *-?tekw-) 'river' must be Cree. I have noticed three early place names with this ending well outside the historical range of the Cree: according to de la Poterie (Blair 1911:1.314), Nicolas Perrot's guide mentioned a river called Oulamanistik (now the Manistique River in northern Michigan), obviously olamanistik 'vermilion river' in Cree; less than a hundred miles away is Sault Ste. Marie, known from the Jesuit Relation of 1640 (Thwaites 1898:18.230) by the Cree name Baouichtigouian (pāwistikwēyāw) 'the rapids'; at the other end of Lake Superior the river that flows into Thunder Bay has been known since the mid-seventeenth century as the Kaministikwia (kā-ministikwēyāw) 'island river'. Whether these names were learned from a locally-resident band of Cree or from a lone Cree guide who had come from another area is a problem I will leave to the historians, but the linguistic evidence is clear. Perrot's guide was probably an Ojibwa, and in the Relation of 1640 Le Jeune specifically notes (Thwaites 1898:18.232)

> ...ie diray en passant que le sieur Nicolet[,] interprete en langue Algonquine & Huronne, pour Messieurs de la nouuelle Frãce, m'a donné les noms de ces nations qu'il a visité luy mesme pour la pluspart dans leur pays...

Since there is no record of the -stik suffix being borrowed into Ojibwa, neither Perrot's guide nor Nicolet could have given these place names in a language foreign to the area -- they must have quoted the names as they heard them used locally.

Cree r-dialects

The earliest extant vocabulary of Cree is that collected by Thomas Gorst at Rupert House in the winter of 1670-71. The published version (Oldmixon 1741:1.558) has a number of errors, such as "spog.m" for ospwākan 'pipe', and was likely alphabetized by Oldmixon after he miscopied it. If this explanation is correct, "tequan" is an error for kēkwān 'what?' and "pastosigon" is miscopied pāskisikan

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'gun'. The alternative hypothesis, originally put forward by John Hewson (1973.193), is that Gorst's vocabulary is early Montagnais rather than r-dialect Cree. Since pre-Cree *sk became st, sc or ss in Montagnais, "pastosigon" could represent pāstīsikan; this word, together with "tequan" 'what?' and the diminutive "pistosigon a hish" 'pistol' are the only ones which might be Montagnais rather than Cree. Other words with prevocalic *k do not show palatalization: the relevant examples are "okimah" (okimāw) 'chief', "arremitogisy" (arimihtākosi) 'speak!', "manitowghigin" (manitōwēkin) 'a red-coat', and "mekish" (mīkiš) 'bead'. This first vocabulary is in an r-dialect, i.e. Proto-Algonquian *l appears as r in words like "arakana" (ārahkonāw) 'bread' and "arremitogisy" above. Hewson (p.c.) now agrees with me that the Gorst vocabulary is poorly copied Cree, not Montagnais. Truman Michelson (1939.37-88) argued that it is a mixture of Cree, Montagnais and Ojibwa, but the words he cites as decisively Ojibwa (Algonkin) can also be found in early Cree vocabularies, and his two "Montagnais" forms, "pastosigon" (above) and "stenna,i" ('stēmāw) 'tobacco' are just as likely to be badly copied Cree as Montagnais.

There are a few traces of this r-dialect in the later records, such as the name "Aruskam" (arōskan 'raspberry'), a trading captain at Eastmain in 1779 (Morantz 1977.85). In 1927 John M. Cooper visited a number of settlements in northern Ontario, stopping for two to ten days at each. To him we owe everything that is known about the more recent history of this dialect (Cooper 1945.40-41):

> That the Kesagami Lake Cree spoke an r dialect -- it is now practically extinct, except in the memory of a handful of survivors -- was fairly clear from information gathered by the present writer in 1927 at Moose Factory and from the very scanty data given the same year by aged Jane Kustan, a Kesagami-speaker, at Lake Abitibi where she was then living. Fuller, but still very meager data obtained in 1932 and 1933 at Moose Factory from the elder Smallboys and their son Harvey confirmed the 1927 data...

Elsewhere Cooper (1928.206n; 1934.24) mentions that the Kesagami Lake people merged with the Moose Factory band and that Harvey Smallboy, son of Simon and Ellen Smallboy, was then about sixty years old. The only diagnostic word Cooper cites in print from Harvey Smallboy is kīla 'thou' (Cooper 1934.28), which is Moose Cree. There are still a few Smallboys at Moose Factory, but they all speak the ordinary Moose dialect -- in fact, the eldest still living, John Smallboy (born 1917), served as one of my principal informants for the l-dialect. The only trace of the Kesagami r-dialect that I was able to find in 1973 was the word miray, which two informants offered as a translation of Moose Cree milākacōš 'ling'. The only other survival is the place name Harricanaw River; the Kesagami River

joins the Harricanaw near the James Bay coast. The name is obviously the Cree word for 'bread', given by Gorst as "arakana". The Rogger River north of Fort George, Québec, is also a place name deriving from the Kesagami dialect, but orākan 'dish, bowl' was borrowed at an early date by the fur traders and used as an English word.

About 250 miles southeast of Kesagami Lake live another group who still speak an r-dialect of Cree, the Tête-de-Boule or Attikamek Cree. Their present location suggests that they must be an offshoot of the group who used to live east of Moose Factory, though there is no direct evidence to connect the two bands. The Meqiskan subdialect shows Moose Cree influence, with pilēšīš 'bird', wāpilēw 'ptarmigan', and other words with l instead of r (Cooper 1945.38). Attikamek Cree also shows influence from Montagnais, e.g. occasional retention of final w in amiskʷ 'beaver', wacaskʷ 'muskrat', etc. (Cooper 1945.39), which is hardly surprising in view of their location and frequent intermarriage.

There is yet another r-dialect that is mentioned in many of the early records. The most substantial collection of words is included in James Isham's vocabulary of Woods Cree (Isham 1743/1949), e.g. "Mar rat tis sue" (mārātisiw 'he is ugly'), "ha re ca naw" (ārahkonāw 'bread'), "hurrawock" (ariwāk 'more than'), "pekoperritt" (pīkoparit 'it is broken' [conjunct]). Isham apparently never visited "the bottom of the Bay" -- he spent his entire career, from 1732 until his death in 1761, at York Factory, where he would have been most unlikely to meet any considerable number of Indians from Kesagami Lake.

In 1776-77 Alexander Henry (the elder) wintered on the Churchill River in Saskatchewan. He noted that "Our customers were from Lake Arabuthcow, of which, and the surrounding country, they were the proprietors..." They told him of another river "which they called Kiratchinini Sibi, or Slave River"; in a footnote he adds "Or Y-atch-inini Sipi" (Henry 1901.331-332). Despite the medial -inini- < *elenyiwa''person', which is due to Henry's fluent knowledge of Ojibwa, these place names must be the r-dialect forms corresponding to Plains Cree ayahciyiniw 'stranger, enemy (hence, Blackfoot, Slave)' and *kiyahciyiniw (< *kel- 'deceitful'?, and the unreduplicated form of the preceding). Henry's "Arabuthcow", and Peter Pond's "Araubaska" (Innis 1930) are the r-dialect equivalents of Woods Cree "Athapuscow", "Athabasca" (Henry 1901.326). In his published journal Samuel Hearne called the lake "Athapuscow", but in earlier drafts had "in error" written "Arathapescow" (Hearne 1796.xxxvii), which may be a blend of the two dialects' forms.

Alexander Henry's customers were Chipewyan who had learned Cree from their neighbours. The "Athapuscow" Indians mentioned by Samuel Hearne were "Southern Indians" (Hearne 1796.178n), i.e. Cree, who had hunting territories along the south side of Lake Athabasca and some distance up the Athabasca River. It appears that the northern side of the lake was Yellowknife ("Copper Indians") and Dogrib

territory. Hearne carefully distinguishes between the "Athapuscow" group and the "Homeguard" Indians -- although they are both Cree, they were clearly distinct.

Another place name appears in both r- and y-dialect forms. The Knife River north of Churchill was called "Pocathusko" by Joseph Robson (1752.54), who spent the years 1733-36 and 1744-47 at York Factory and Churchill, but in his list of errata he changed it to "Pockaracisco". Samuel Hearne (1796.2) referred to it as the "Po-co-ree-kis-co" (on his map it is misspelled "Po co ree hiscow"; in the table of contents and on page 302 he gives the Woods Cree form "Po-co-thee-kis-co"). This suggests that the river was frequently spoken of by speakers of the r-dialect, just as Lake Athabasca was first heard of from them.

The most likely group of Indians to have been speakers of the northern r-dialect would be the Misinipi, named after their residence on the Churchill River. The Misinipi were Cree, but not the same as the "Homeguards" around York Factory. James Knight (1932.57) reported in 1717 that they were at war with the "Copper Indians" (Yellowknife). While he was setting up the new trading post at Churchill in August 1717, two canoes of "Meshinnepee" Indians arrived from "ye great Water Lake"; Knight tried to send them away, but they explained that it was only a four-day trip from their homes to Churchill whereas to go to York Factory would take at least ten days (Knight 1932.161-166). The Great Water Lake is undoubtedly Southern Indian Lake, about 165 miles from Churchill and the largest lake in northern Manitoba. The "Po-co-ree-kis-co" or Knife River and even more northerly Seal River are still used in preference to the lower Churchill to get to the Bay.

Thus there seems to have been in the eighteenth century a group of Cree living on Southern Indian Lake and also on the upper Churchill toward Lake Athabasca who spoke an r-dialect of Cree. This group, like the other western Cree, shifted westward -- Southern Indian Lake and much of the Churchill River is now Woods Cree territory. In the nineteenth century there are few references to Misinipi Cree. The various grammars and dictionaries mention nīra 'I' and iriniw 'person' as examples of the r-dialect, but no longer vocabularies were printed. It is significant that Joseph Howse (1844.316) did not know of a Cree r-dialect -- he refers to Eliot's 1666 grammar for n in Algonquian. The dialect was usually said to be spoken at Lac Ile-à-la-Crosse, Saskatchewan, but it has been replaced there by Plains Cree with considerable French admixture, like the creole described by Rhodes (1977).

Woods Cree

Woods Cree, the dialect in which Proto-Algonquian *l becomes y, is attested from the earliest record of Cree continuously to the present. Thomas Gorst's 1670-71 Rupert House vocabulary (Oldmixon 1741.558) contains one Woods Cree word, "soth.im.m" (wayaman or perhaps osoyaman [cf. Menomini osōnamon]) 'vermillion', among the r-dialect words.

The second-earliest source (and first connected text) of

Woods Cree to survive is a brief note Henry Kelsey inserted in his journal three days after Christmas, 1696 (Kelsey 1929.60-61). He obviously did not intend this to be read ("A pleasant fancy of old time which made me write in an unknown tongue because counsel is kept best if one single Breast") and all attempts to decipher it completely have failed, due to its inadequate orthography, but it clearly represents his thoughts during the annual Christmas revels at York Factory: "Cakiththa keeshquebbau" is Woods Cree kahkiyaw kīškwēpēw[ak] 'everyone is drunk', and "Ne wee No tee Squea wa" is niwī- 'I want' plus a verb akin to nātiskwēwātew, translated by Watkins (1938.353) as "he commits adultery or fornication with her".

Although we have ample material to show that Woods Cree was spoken at York Factory in later years, Rupert House is now Montagnais, and the west coast of James Bay is occupied by the Moose and Swampy Cree. Confirmation of Gorst's "soth.im.m" comes from the journal kept at Fort Albany in 1705-06, dictated by Anthony Beale to his accountant, Stephen Pitts (Williams 1975). Only a few Cree words are recorded, but most are in the Woods dialect: "motheey", "moutheey" (miyay) 'ling', "Thaw-vab-bis-ter" (ayāwāpiskāw) 'it is a far-off rock' (modern Lawabiskau River, between Fort Albany and Moose Factory).

The journals kept at the Hudson's Bay Company posts around James Bay continue to give Woods Cree words for some time. A man named "Peayshush" (piyēšiš 'little partridge'), who traded at Rupert House from 1825 to 1843 is called "Pethaishish" in 1837 (Diamond 1976). An "Upland Indian" chief "Paithaubinauweskum" (pēyāpināwiskam ?) is frequently mentioned in the same journal between 1837 and 1842, and an Eastmain Indian named "Meathinnawayou" (mīyi- 'hairy'?) appears during the same period. Most interesting is the short speech recorded in the Rupert House journal following the Hannah Bay massacre in 1832: one of the main participants, Shaintoquaish, is quoted in what is definitely Woods Cree.

The most important document in eastern Woods Cree is a seven-page dictionary compiled by Henry Kelsey (1710). H.C. Wolfart and I have been working on Kelsey's dictionary for several years now, and will be publishing a full report on its linguistic and ethnohistorical implications, but a summary will be presented here.

The dialect that Kelsey spoke is rather different from modern Manitoba Woods Cree, but a week before the conference I was able to do some work on the Saskatchewan dialects of Lac La Ronge, Little Red River and Pelican Narrows and found them to retain some of the features in Kelsey. Proto-Algonquian *l becomes y, written "th", in words like "Netha" (nīya) 'I', "ca kith tha" (kahkiyaw) 'all', and "Thaw cush ." (ayahkošin) 'it is light in weight', but for modern iniyiniw (or [ᐃᓂᔨᐧᐣ]) 'person' Kelsey has the assimilated form "E thith thee" iyiyiw. Proto-Algonquian *š remains in Kelsey's dialect, but has become s in all modern Woods Cree dialects: Kelsey has "She shīp" 'duck', modern sīsīp.

Except for the assimilated form iyiyiw, Kelsey's Woods

Cree is identical to the dialect recorded a generation later by James Isham (1743/1949) at York Factory and Andrew Graham (1791/1969) at Fort Severn. In these vocabularies Proto-Algonquian *sk appears consistently as θk (written "thk") in words like "mith coo" (miθko) < *meskwi 'blood', "ath keek" (āθkik) < *āskikwa 'seal', "Nooth quatt tah" (nōθkwata) < *nōskwātanlwe 'lick it'. The Saskatchewan dialect still maintains θk < *sk: older speakers say miθkosiw 'he is red', nōθkwātam 'he licks it', nimiθkamīw 'he makes an insulting gesture at him'. In the Manitoba dialect Proto-Algonquian *sk has fallen together with hk, giving nōhkwātam, and short i is lowered before h plus consonant, so miθko becomes [meɛkɔ]. In both modern dialects long *ē has become ī, e.g. pīyak 'one', wāpamiw 'he sees him', nīw 'four'. As in all western dialects of Cree, *š has become s. Proto-Algonquian consonant clusters ending in *-l have fallen together with single *l in all Cree dialects except Plains Cree, which contrasts hy or h with y, and in the speech of one of my La Ronge informants, who has hδ or hθ in words like wīhδīw 'he names him' (< *wīnlēwa) and ahδīw 'he places him' (< *a?lēwa); my other informants have unpreaspirated δ in these words: wīδīw, aδīw. Perhaps the most surprising feature in the Saskatchewan dialect is a double reflex of Proto-Algonquian *sk among the younger speakers. My oldest informant, born at Lac La Ronge in 1902, said miθko consistently for 'blood'. Younger speakers generally have misko, and a man born in 1920 has both reflexes -- θk in some words, sk in others -- and accepts both as correct in all words with Proto-Algonquian *sk. A similar alternation appears in the word for 'lung': the older informants say oθpan, the younger ones ospan; Plains Cree has ohpan (< *wexpani). These alternations are not due to recent Ojibwa influence (as some of my informants claim): Henry Kelsey had "Mith co" (miθko) and "Uth pun" (oθpan) in his 1710 dictionary, but James Isham in 1743 had "musquagamy" (miskwākamiw) 'Red River' beside "mirth coo" (miθko), and "Us' spun" (ospan). Saskatchewan Woods Cree is thus a mixture of the two earlier variants, Old Eastern and Old Western Woods Cree; why the variation seems to depend on age is a mystery to me.

Woods Cree is no longer spoken anywhere around James Bay, but I do not know when its speakers moved out or switched dialects. The east coast of James Bay is now entirely Montagnais (and Eskimo); Moose Factory has Moose Cree; and Fort Albany, Attawapiskat, Winisk and Fort Severn are now Swampy Cree, as was York Factory until it was closed in 1957.

Probably there was a gradual westward shift of Woods Cree speakers as northern Ontario was trapped out. Bishop (1974 and elsewhere) has shown that the Cree -- of whatever dialect -- pulled out of the area starting in the eighteenth century and were replaced by the Ojibwa groups that are there today. James Smith (1976) has suggested that there was relatively little migration involved, i.e. that the western Cree were residents of Saskatchewan long before the fur traders penetrated inland, but the linguistic data

contradict this view. Cumberland House and probably Norway House were Woods Cree territory according to the earliest records: Matthew Cocking (Rich 1951.9) recorded the name of Paint Lake (near Thompson, Manitoba) as "Uthamun Sackaeagan" (oθaman sākahikan), and had customers with names like "Mameekathinnee" and "We,as,A,thi,nue" at Cumberland House; he also notes (Rich 1951.139) a new species of fish called "Ma'the'meg" (māθamēk < *myālamēkwa 'ugly fish'). The place name Athapapuskow Lake, near Flin Flon, Manitoba, is also a survival from this area.

A century later both Norway House and the Cumberland House area seem to have been part of the Plains Cree territory. The Rev. Egerton Ryerson Young recorded a vocabulary of Plains Cree in 1872 at Norway House, and most of the early religious material prepared by James Evans (at Norway House) and the Hunters (at Cumberland House) were in the Plains dialect (see Pilling 1891 for titles), though Evan's first work (1841) has far more n's than y's. Joseph Howse (1844.141) appears to confirm a Plains Cree presence in northern Manitoba with his statement "...in the cases where the Crees in the vicinity of the Coast, lat. 57 [i.e. York Factory], pronounce the th, the contiguous (inland) tribes of this nation always use l or y..." Nowadays the entire area is Swampy Cree.

Plains Cree

There are no records of the Plains Cree dialect (in which Proto-Algonquian *l becomes y) before the nineteenth century, except for two words, one in a footnote by Samuel Hearne, the other given by John Macdonell.

Discussing incest rules among the Cree, Hearne (1796. 130n) comments "Most of the Southern Indians, as well the Athapuscow and Neheaway tribes, are entirely without scruple in this respect." The "Neheaway" are not described, nor is their location given, but the name is nēhiyaw(ēw), still used by the Plains Cree to refer to themselves. In 1793 John Macdonell, a Nor'Wester in charge of Fort Esperance, noted that the Qu'Appelle River contained a fish named "Mãe Achigan called by the men Mâle Achigan" (Gates 1965. 116). This is māyašikan, the otherwise unrecorded Plains Cree reflex of *myāla?šikanwa 'bass', known to the traders by its Old Ojibwa name, mālahšikan. This is the only Plains dialect word recorded in a known location before the great expansion of trade with the Plains Cree at the end of the eighteenth century.

Once the tribe was brought into the orbit of the fur traders, there was a sudden burst of vocabulary collecting, by Alexander Henry the younger (Coues 1897.534-537), Daniel Williams Harmon (1820) and many others. These vocabularies tell us little about Plains Cree that could not be drawn from the more recent collections of Bloomfield (1930, 1934) and Wolfart (1973b), except that Proto-Algonquian *š was still distinct from s into the historical period. However, the merger of *s and *š was already well underway by the time Henry and Harmon wrote their vocabularies in the early 1800's: compare Harmon's "See-sip" (sīsīp) 'duck' and

"Oo-she-hah" (ošihēw) 'he makes him', both with Proto-Algonquian *š.

Plains Cree is now the most widespread dialect of Cree, though Swampy probably has a few more speakers. The main local differences are in intonation and word choice, but two isoglosses (which apparently coincide in large part) can be drawn. In northern Alberta the third person plural conjunct ending is -twāw instead of -cik, e.g. apitwāw 'they are sitting', southern Plains Cree apicik. This is also found in a few of the most northerly reserves in Saskatchewan, such as Meadow Lake and Onion Lake. In most northern Plains Cree dialects, *ē has merged with *ī, as in modern Woods Cree: northern pīyak 'one', nīw 'four', southern pēyak, nēw (nīso 'two' in both). The dialect spoken at Whitefish Lake, Saskatchewan, is reported by Ida McLeod (p.c.) to have interchanged *ē and *ī: nistīs 'my older brother' but nisēmis 'my younger brother' (southern Plains Cree nistēs, nisīmis). This has important theoretical implications and requires further checking.

Swampy Cree

Swampy Cree, the dialect in which Proto-Algonquian *l becomes n, is today the dialect with the largest number of speakers. It is therefore remarkable that there is virtually no trace of it before the late nineteenth century. There are two possible explanations. Some other dialect of Cree may have changed its reflex of *l to n ca. 1850. The most likely candidate, in view of the earlier distribution of dialects, would be Woods Cree, which was formerly spoken at least as far east as James Bay.

The alternative explanation of the lack of Swampy records is that the speakers of this dialect were screened from the chroniclers by other groups. The traders and missionaries from New France usually spoke Ojibwa, and automatically converted words from other dialects (and languages) to their own. Thus Antoine Silvy, a Jesuit missionary who was at York Factory for the winter of 1684-85 (and who later compiled a Montagnais dictionary), refers to the "Kilistinons" and "Assinipoals" (Rochemonteix 1904); the first name could be either Cree or Ojibwa, but the second must be l-dialect Ojibwa ahsinipwāl 'stone Sioux, Assiniboine', corresponding to Cree asinīpwāt. The Hudson's Bay Company traders, on the other hand, were surrounded by Woods Cree and saw only small numbers of the more distant groups. Most of their vocabularies are in Woods Cree (with a few Misinipi words) -- there are no vocabularies of Plains, Swampy, or Moose Cree until the nineteenth century, yet there is some slight evidence that there were groups who spoke these dialects earlier.

The only Swampy Cree word I have noticed in the early vocabularies is James Isham's "Kenapee" (Isham 1743/1949. 56 and five other places) 'make haste' (kinipī, imperative). I would suggest that the Swampy Cree occupied the upper Severn and Albany drainages in Ontario in the seventeenth century, moving out to the coast once the animal

life was severely depleted inland. No doubt much of the eastern Woods Cree population was absorbed by them, and the remainder was hastened on its way westward into northern Manitoba and Saskatchewan. The Swampy Cree continued to expand as their population grew, and have now reached as far west as Cumberland House, Saskatchewan, displacing the Woods and Plains Cree who earlier occupied the Nelson and lower Saskatchewan Rivers. The expansion of the Swampy Cree was not, apparently, a fiercely-resisted invasion. The more westerly Cree bands were already on the move, exploiting their superior firepower to advance into territories formerly held by the northern Athapaskans and the Plains tribes, so the Swampy Cree were able to shift into a rapidly-emptying region north of Lake Winnipeg.

After 1850 Swampy Cree is well attested, essentially in the area it occupies today. We have reliable data from almost all the settlements -- certainly enough to identify the dialect and main subdialects. The principal division is between the eastern and western dialects: eastern Swampy Cree, i.e. the dialects from Winisk to Fort Albany, retain Proto-Algonquian *š: makošēw 'he feasts' (< *makwehšēwa), šīšīp 'duck' (< *šī?šīpa), etc. There are two sets of apparent exceptions. Some words have s where it is not expected, such as šīpīsīš 'creek', but they are all cases of diminutive consonant symbolism (Pentland 1975). A few words have s instead of š, but they are due to a dissimilation rule (also found in most Ojibwa dialects) that š becomes s before another s, e.g. kīsisow 'he is cooked' (cf. kīšītēw 'it is cooked'), osisa 'his father-in-law' (< *wešihsali). This rule probably applied in all Cree dialects before they merged s and š -- the Turtle Mountain creole (Rhodes 1977) has the rule in French loan words even though s and š do not contrast in its Cree words.

A second major isogloss in Swampy Cree sets off eastern Manitoba from the rest. Norway House, Split Lake, Shamattawa, etc., have sc for hc, e.g. miscēt 'many', kisci 'great', osci 'from', for mihcēt, kihci, ohci. This does not appear in the westernmost Swampy dialects (The Pas, Cumberland House) nor in Ontario Swampy, but it is spreading into other dialects: some words with sc are found in the Plains Cree creole at Turtle Mountain, North Dakota, and in other Plains Cree dialects. The earliest published records of the sc dialect date from the 1960's or 1970's, but my Split Lake informant, Emile Garson, reports that his grandparents had this feature, so it must date from before the turn of the century. It is puzzling, however, that such an obvious change should have been missed by all the early recorders of Cree.

In the westernmost Swampy Cree dialects, spoken at The Pas, Manitoba, and Cumberland House, Saskatchewan, preaspirated consonants lose the h with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, e.g. mīcēt 'many', pāpiw 'he laughs', mīkwāw 'it is red'. This has spread into the neighbouring Woods Cree dialect of Sandy Bay (Island Falls), Saskatchewan. A similar change is underway in Plains Cree, hence Bloomfield's note (1930.3) that vowel

length is difficult to distinguish before hC.

Swampy Cree is also noteworthy for a number of phonetic changes in consonant clusters. Underlying hk becomes [x] in almost all dialects of Cree, especially in rapid speech. In Swampy Cree alone (except for the westernmost dialects), hp and ht also become fricatives in certain environments. In the Split Lake dialect of Manitoba, hp becomes [f] and ht becomes [θ] word-finally, e.g. [ʌkɔf] 'blanket' (plural [ʌkɔhpʌ]) and [a·tɪθ] 'some' (ātiht). Robert Anthony (1972) reports that Shamattawa, Manitoba, has [ɸ] and [θ], but the conditioning is not clear: [kipa·ɸin] 'you laugh' but [pa·po] 'he laughs'. In the eastern dialects, at Attawapiskat and Fort Albany, older speakers have [ɸp] and [θt], e.g. [ʌkɔɸp] 'blanket' and [mɪθtʌ] 'firewood'; for 'he laughs' I recorded [pa·ɸpɔ] from an elderly Attawapiskat informant, [pa·ɸɔ] from a young Albany speaker, and [pa·fɔ] from a young Attawapiskat informant.

The Swampy dialects by definition have n for Proto-Algonquian *l, but in the Manitoba dialects a few words appear with l: alīkis 'frog', alikwacās 'squirrel', ciwēkalāpisīs 'dragonfly'; l also appears in loan words for English and French r, e.g. alāpat 'Robert', alapapow 'soup'. These words with l seem to be in imitation of Moose Cree, souvenirs of the frequent visits between Moose Factory and the York Factory area in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They are not direct loanwords, since Moose Cree has alīkiš but anikwacās, ciwēkanāpišīš.

In almost all Swampy Cree dialects, Proto-Algonquian *sk becomes hk (> [x], [·k]), e.g. miihko ([mɪxɔ], [mi·gɔ]) 'blood' < *meskwi. In 1928 Leonard Bloomfield reported that the dialect of The Pas, Manitoba, has htk < *sk, a reflex not reported before or since. Bloomfield listed twelve derivatives of the root *meskw- 'red' (the only one known at the time to contain *sk). He is not likely to have misheard all these words, since he was aware of their significance to his reconstruction of Proto-Algonquian, but [htk] is a very unusual phonetic sequence for a Cree dialect to have. In the other Swampy dialects spoken in Manitoba the combination ht is often pronounced [θ]; if this is also true of the dialect Bloomfield heard, the spelling "htk" might represent [θk], identical to the reflex of *sk found in the nearby western Woods Cree dialect. I think Bloomfield heard the words correctly, but phonemicized them in a way that has caused confusion ever since.

Moose Cree

The final Cree dialect to be considered is Moose Cree, the dialect in which Proto-Algonquian *l remains as l. Until the missionary efforts of the late nineteenth century there are almost no records of the l-dialect of Cree. William Coats, who made many voyages to Hudson Bay from 1727 to 1751, refers to the Iroquois "or Eliquoes, as our Indians call them" (Barrow 1852.57). James Isham's 1743 vocabulary contains many words with written "l", but almost all of them turn out to be uncrossed "t". He does give two

words (Isham 1949.23) in which the "l" is not an error: "wap pa cullu" (wāpikalōw) 'snowy owl' and "Chaw chaw ko low" (cahcakalow) 'blackbird' -- I think it significant that both are bird names, both occur on the same page in his manuscript, and both are likely to have been unusual specimens brought in to the fort for his inspection (perhaps from some distance away), since for the second species he notes "a Land bird no name". Isham spent his entire career in the York Factory region, more than 650 miles from Moose River; Andrew Graham, who was chief at Fort Severn (100 miles closer to Moose) from 1761 to 1774, gives Woods Cree equivalents to Isham's words -- "Wawpekatheu" and "Chachacathew" -- but includes one Moose Cree word of his own, "Kilipi" (kilipī) 'make haste' (Graham 1969.106, 41, 208). I have found no other Cree words with l before 1850.

As with most of the other Cree dialects, there is just enough evidence to prove that Moose Cree was spoken for a considerable time before John Horden began writing in it. Except for the retention of l, Moose Cree is fairly uninteresting to the dialectologist -- in other words, it has not innovated significantly since the proto-Cree period. The only isogloss included on the map is the one I have named "the James Bay isogloss", since only the dialects touching on James Bay show it: n assimilates to a neighbouring l, as in ililiw < *elenyiwa 'person', wīlilow < *wīlenwiwa 'he is fat', niyālal < proto-Cree *niyālanwi 'five' ("neyalul" in Horden 1881, but niyālan in 1973). On the west coast of James Bay, Swampy Cree has merged n and l, so we cannot tell whether ininiw derives from ilīliw or iīniw, but Henry Kelsey's Woods Cree dictionary, probably written at Fort Albany about 1708, has "E thith thee" (iθiθiw) in contrast to western Woods Cree iθiniw. Kelsey also has "Weeth in no" (wīθinow) 'he is fat' instead of assimilated wīθiθow, and Isham (1743/1949) gives both "athinue" (iθiniw) and assimilated "A' thir thue" (iθiθiw) in the York Factory dialect.

On the east coast, Montagnais has [i·yow] from underlying iyiyiw 'person', wīyiyow 'he is fat', yayim 'to windward' (< *nalem-), but the inland dialects (Mistassini, etc.) have unassimilated [i·now] (iyiniw) 'person'.

From this survey we may conclude that all the modern major dialects of Cree -- those defined by their reflex of Proto-Algonquian *l -- were already in existence by 1750, when our records become fairly copious, and had probably been around for a long time before, perhaps since Cree became a distinct Algonquian language. On the other hand, none of the minor dialect divisions seem to be of any great antiquity: there is no evidence on verb forms from early Plains Cree, but the northern Plains change of -cik to -twāw is an obvious case of analogy and need not be early; the change of *ē to ī does not appear in print until the twentieth century, and the sc dialect of Swampy not until the last ten years; the James Bay isogloss is fairly early, at least pre-1700, but postdates the borrowing of *niyālanwi 'five' into Cree from a language like Old Fox; and the

merger of *s and *š is recent enough that it can be seen to spread from west to east through the various dialects of Cree after our records begin.

Early Montagnais

The earliest word I have noticed that is definitely Montagnais is "Magots" (mākoc ?) 'Iroquois' in Thevet's 1550 manuscript (Hoffman 1961.175). While this clearly shows that final *k had already palatalized to c (ts) in some dialects of Montagnais, dictionaries compiled more than a century later still show many words in which k has not changed sufficiently to be spelled other than with French "k". Antoine Silvy's dictionary (1974) contains 23 columns of words beginning with "ke-" and "ki-", e.g. "kir" (kīr) 'thou', "kirisi8" ~ "kihisi8" (kirisiw ~ kihisiw < *ke?lesiwa [not *ki·?l- as in Pentland 1977.156 - Swampy Cree has kinisiw]) 'he is slippery', and many examples of animate plural "-ak" < *-aki, e.g. "arikak" (arīkak) 'frogs', "assamak" (asāmak) 'snowshoes'.

The dictionaries also have many words with c or č for *k, often given as alternants to unpalatalized forms: Silvy gives "tchir" (čīr) 'thou', "nikik" and "nitchik8" (nikik ~ ničikʷ) 'otter', "aɬachtchime8ets" (ayasčimēwəc) "gaspésiens". Rarer are the reflexes "t" and "kh", e.g. "mitis" (beside "mitchis", mītis ~ mīčis) 'bead', "askhik8" (āskɣikʷ ?) 'seal'. More than one reflex in a single word is common: "nikisterimau" (cf. Cree nikiskēyimāw) 'I know him', "nikistinistitchi" (cf. Cree nīkihciniskihk) 'on my right', "satchime8ek" (sačimēwək) 'mosquitoes'.

Massé's Lord's Prayer (from the 1620's) also shows a mixture of k and c for single *k, but ss for underlying *sk, e.g. "assitz" (cf. Cree askīhk) 'on earth' (Massé 1865). It appears that *sk palatalized before single *k did, and that the entire phenomenon spread during several centuries through the area now known as Montagnais. The early records still show final vowels in some words that have now lost them, e.g. "mitchisti" (micisti, cf. Cree micisk) 'someone's arse' with palatalization, but "8iki" (wīki) 'his house' without palatalization, so the spread would have been comparatively easy -- speakers of Cree-like dialects would have only had to adopt the new rule, rather than learn each morpheme individually. I would guess that the change first began around 1400 A.D., reaching its present geographical limit soon after 1700 A.D. To judge from the modern reflexes of *k and *sk, palatalization first began in the southeastern dialects, those which have carried the change farthest.

Even before palatalization of *k spread throughout the language, Montagnais was distinguishable from Cree by a number of morphological and lexical differences, as well as some minor phonological ones. Montagnais had already begun to merge *s and *š by the 1670's, though most words appear with the historically correct reflex: Silvy has "sig8an" (sīkwan < *sīkwanwi) 'it is spring' versus "chigau" (šīkaw < *šīkawa) 'widow(er)', but writes (1975. 142) "s. cum ch confunditur" and gives doublets like

"sichip" ~ "chichip" (sihcihp ~ šihcihp) 'a boil'. Cowan (1977) produced evidence to show that Montagnais distinguished Proto-Algonquian *xk from *θk; on the other hand, it does not distinguish *sk from *hk, as early Cree does.

In an earlier paper (Pentland 1974) I suggested that the fact that there were r, l, n and y dialects of both Cree and Montagnais is not accidental -- that successive groups split off from the Proto-Algonquian core: first a group in which *l had become t, represented by Blackfoot, Cheyenne and Nawathinehena on the west and (perhaps) Beothuck on the east, then a y group (Plains Cree and Western Montagnais), an n group (Swampy Cree and Eastern Montagnais), and finally an l group (Moose Cree and Southern Montagnais), while those who remained in the core area, the Tadoussac Montagnais and Attikamek Cree, changed from *l to r in imitation of the neighbouring Iroquoian languages (Fig. 1, 2). This hypothesis has many faults -- it does not account for Woods Cree (the š-dialect) at all, and it would be difficult to force the Eastern Algonquian languages into such a wave pattern -- but the only rebuttal so far (Drapeau et al. 1976) has been on the grounds that Montagnais was a uniform r-dialect in the seventeenth century. That this claim is wrong does not make my hypothesis any more valid, but it is certainly not evidence against it.

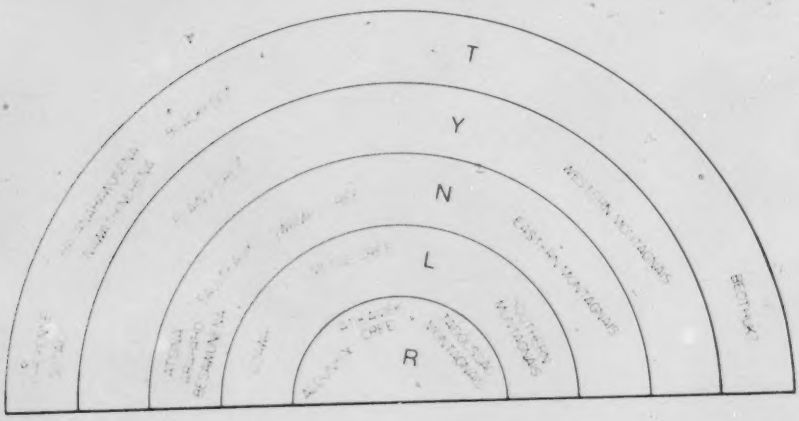


Figure 1: A Speculative Model of Northern Algonquian Dialect Developments.

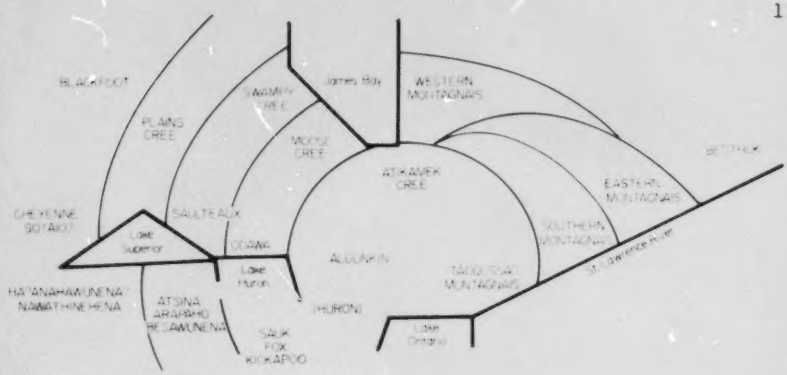


Figure 2: The Model (still speculative) with geography taken into account.

The best records we have of seventeenth-century Montagnais were recorded by the missionaries at Tadoussac and Lac St-Jean, in what must have been the heart of the r-dialect area. Naturally almost all the words show r from Proto-Algonquian *l, but there is also evidence of the other three modern reflexes: Silvy (1974.79, 143) has "mitelim" 'tongue' and "ni satchitelini8echinin" (nisāčitēliniwēšinin) 'I stick out my tongue' < *-tēlanyiw-; both Silvy and Fabvre (1970) have many words with both r and n-variants, e.g. "nichkam8 mel[ius] richkam8" 'il souffle avec effort', "ristibe8" ~ "nistibe8" < *lexkepyēwi 'it is covered with water', etc.; and Fabvre gives "ragau (v[el] iegau)" < *lēkawi 'sand'. There is thus ample evidence of an n-dialect in the seventeenth century, and a minimal amount -- no more than we have for Plains, Swampy, and Moose Cree -- for the existence of l- and y-dialects of Montagnais at the same time.

I recently presented the evidence for a double reflex from Proto-Algonquian *?l, *nl and *hl in the r- and n-dialects (Pentland 1977): the dictionaries have both r or n and h, e.g. "rehe8" and "rere8", "nehe8" and "nene8", all from *lēhlēwa 'he breathes'. The dialects with h have apparently died out: this sound change, unlike one of *l to r, is not reversible, so the modern dialect with l from *?l, *nl, *hl cannot derive from the old dialect with h. On the other hand, there is considerable evidence that the speakers of the r-dialect, decimated by starvation and disease around 1700 (Cooper 1945.43), joined up with the nearby l-dialect and eventually completely switched from r to l. James McKenzie recorded such a mixture in 1808, probably at Sept-Iles: note the pronouns "Ni" (cf. modern Sept-Iles nī?, but nīl [etc.] elsewhere) 'I', "Tshir" (čīr) 'thou', "We-la" (wīla, modern wīl with final vowel

loss) 'he'. The missionaries continued to publish religious materials in a mixed l- and r-dialect at least until 1893, presumably because some of their parishioners spoke that way (e.g. a book of prayers and hymns entitled Ir mishiniigan eku omeru tshe apatstats ilnuts [anonymous 1893]).

Ojibwa Dialects

The distribution of Ojibwa dialects still requires a great deal of work, but much of the basic material has been gathered and analyzed in the last few years with encouraging results. A definitive division into dialects and subdialects is not yet feasible; we do know most of the features that will be considered diagnostic, but information on their distributions is not always available. For instance, the easternmost Ojibwa dialects in Ontario should be distinguished from Algonkin dialects in Québec (fide Glyne Piggott and others at the Worcester conference), but which features are to be used and the location of the isoglosses are not yet known in any detail.

In areas bordering Cree-speaking communities in northern Ontario and Québec, the distinctive nasal-plus-consonant combinations of Ojibwa have lost the nasal component or become preaspirated stops. This was found in the Lac Simon (Québec) region by Geary (1955.876-877) and has been described in more depth by Kaye et al. and Piggott et al. (in this volume), and was observed in the northern part of the Severn River drainage (Ontario) by Evelyn Todd (1970. 262). In Québec, *nC becomes single C, e.g. išpimik < išpimink 'up above'. For Ontario Todd reports geminate stops, e.g. išpimikk, but other fieldworkers have found single consonants, as in Québec. This isogloss cuts across others that are probably more important for dialect grouping, so that Red Sucker Lake (Manitoba), part of Wolfart's Island Lake group, differs from Island Lake proper in having lost the n in nC combinations, e.g. māk 'loon', wītamo 'tell him', wanakos 'star' in contrast with Island Lake māṅk, wīntamo, wanaṅkos (Wolfart 1973a. 1319).

The western dialects of Ojibwa are beginning to lose the s/š contrast, especially in consonant clusters. The apparent confusion of sk and šk in William Jones's texts (1917, 1919) from the western end of Lake Superior led Leonard Bloomfield to overphonemicize them, and this in turn led to the famous discussion of Proto-Algonquian *sk (Bloomfield 1946.88n). If Bloomfield had had material from eastern Ojibwa when he first reconstructed Proto-Algonquian there would have been no excitement at all over the reconstruction of *sk, since the eastern dialects clearly distinguish it from all other consonant clusters. The confusion of sk and šk is also apparent in John M. Cooper's material (1936) from Lake of the Woods (no š's at all) and Rainy Lake, e.g. "mąskimūt" 'woven bag' < *maškimot(ay)i, "Oskā´bēwis" < *weškāpēwehsa 'ceremonial attendant', and no doubt in other collections from the southwestern area. In Manitoba and Saskatchewan the merger is much closer to completion. Speakers from the Kamsack,

Saskatchewan, area have šīhšīp 'duck' but pēsik 'one', nīns 'two', while my informants from the Fort Qu'Appelle district have š in all three. Even the oldest residents of the Kamsack reserves have lost virtually all š's, so the merger has been underway for some time. Influence from neighbouring Cree dialects is the most likely explanation, especially since borrowing in the opposite direction is reported for the Cree spoken on the mixed Cree-Ojibwa reserves around Broadview, Saskatchewan (these Cree dialects have both s and š, but I do not yet have the data to show whether the contrast was borrowed from Ojibwa or retained from pre-Cree). Island Lake, Manitoba, may have two subdialects: one distinguishes Proto-Algonquian *s and *š as θ and s respectively, e.g. kiθit < *kesit- 'your foot', nīsin < *nyīšwi 'two', nihθin < *ne?θwi 'three' (examples phonemicized from Eby 1975), while the other has complete merger as s, e.g. mōsōn < *mōswali 'moose (obviative)', nīsin 'two', nihsin 'three' (Wolfart 1973a).

The only addition I can make to Rhode's outline of the central and eastern dialects (Rhodes 1976) is to extend his boundaries into northern Ontario. The dialect spoken at Mobert, on White Lake near Marathon, Ontario, certainly belongs with the central group, so Pic River probably does as well. The Manitouwadge-Longlac area should be carefully investigated, as the boundary between the central and western dialects probably runs through it.

The speakers of Ojibwa have expanded into such a large area in the last two hundred years that it is difficult to correlate early variations with the modern dialects. Odawa was already distinct in the eighteenth century, since DuJaunay's 1748 dictionary has "ik8e v[el] ak8e", "ilini v[el] alini" and "maba", with the words ahkwē 'woman', alini (now anini) 'man' and māpa 'this' so characteristic of modern Odawa. However, the vowel-dropping typical of the modern central and eastern dialects is very recent, since there is no trace of it in the Odawa and Algonkin of the late 1800's.

The earliest records of Ojibwa are usually of an r-dialect, one in which Proto-Algonquian *θ and *l both become r, e.g. arim 'dog' (< *aθemwa), irini 'man' (< *elenyiwa). This is invariably called Algonkin by the missionaries and must be identified as the language of the Algonkin bands living in eastern Ontario and southwestern Québec, around Montréal. The missionaries naturally learned the dialect spoken near their headquarters before going out into the field, and since most of the surviving manuscripts seem to have been compiled by or for people trying to learn the language it is understandable that the local r-dialect predominates.

Even in the earliest records, however, other dialects appear, usually in ways that make it clear that they are less important or less well known, from a Montréaler's point of view. Typical statements appear in Louis Nicolas's Grammaire de la langue algonquine of 1672-74 (Hanzeli 1969. plate facing 117):

> L. et R. chés les outaouaks est la mesme ou plustot R cé change en L.
> R. et N. se prononcent souuant de mesme.

and in an anonymous manuscript from around 1669 (Hanzeli 1969.71): "faut prononcer l ou r pour r algonquine". Louis André perhaps stated the differences most clearly in his 1688-91 Dictionnaire algonquin (ibid.):

> Les algonquins n'ont pas d'l et les outaouois n'ont pas d'r. Quelquefois le mot est commun aux algonquins et aux outáouois, chacun y mettant ce qui est propre de sa langue.

For the period prior to 1690, then, we can distinguish two or three dialects of Ojibwa on the basis of their reflexes of Proto-Algonquian *θ and *l. Old Algonkin had r, well attested in the manuscripts listed in Hanzeli 1969; Old Ottawa (or Odawa) had l, also reliably attested in some of the same manuscripts; and there was a third dialect, which I will call Old Saulteaux, which had n. The locations of these groups are fairly well known from sources such as the Jesuit Relations. Linguistic confirmation comes from the list of tribes LeJeune received from Nicolet in 1640 (Thwaites 1898:18.226-232), in which the names have only r until we reach the Atchiligoüan at the mouth of the French River.

By 1700 the situation is changing. Lahontan's 1703 vocabulary is called Algonkin, but l occurs twice as often as r. Fifty years later Mathevet's dictionaries (Hanzeli 1969.73, Day 1975) give only l in Ojibwa words: "oosel" (ōhsal) 'his father', "kilipil" (kilipīl) 'make haste', "nikeskelint[am]" (nikaśkēlintam) 'I am sorry'. Cuoq (1886.357) reports

> Autrefois, la consonne R était employée par les Missionnaires. M. René-Charles de Breslay, qui fonda la mission de l'Ile-aux-Tourtes, au commencement du siècle dernier [ca 1700], disait nir, kir pour nin, kin, ainsi qu'on peut le voir dans les quelques feuilles qui nos restent de ses écrits. ...
> Son successeur [1714], M. Elie Déperet, substitue constamment L à R, ce que continuent à faire M. Robert-Michel Gay, premier supérieur de la Mission du Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes (1721-1725)...

It would appear that Algonkin and Odawa fell together at this point, but there were still lexical and grammatical differences, e.g. Algonkin -c, Odawa -t in the third person conjunct ending, and Algonkin at this stage had ilini in contrast to Odawa alini 'man'. This middle period of Ojibwa must have begun very close to 1700, and the change from Old Algonkin to Middle Algonkin may have taken only a generation or so.

The n-dialect seems to have been spoken so far from Montréal and the other missions that it was virtually ignored by the missionaries, but it did exist. Besides the comments in the seventeenth-century dictionaries, there is also the evidence of place names: the Assiniboine are first mentioned in the Jesuit Relation of 1640 (Thwaites 1898:18.230) by their Algonkin name, "Assinipour"; the Relation of 1658 (Thwaites 1899:44.248) has the Odawa "Assinipoualak"; and the Old Saulteaux version, "Assinibouane", appears by 1722 (Hodge 1907:1.104-105). The LaVerendryes first used the Middle Algonkin or Odawa version, ahsinipwāl (variously spelled), but as they got further west, away from the Odawa and closer to the Saulteaux, they began to use ahsinipwān as well (Hodge, loc. cit.), and it is the latter that became established usage. Other names demonstrate the same phenomenon. The Cree band first mentioned in 1640 (Thwaites 1898:18.228) as "Kiristinon" become "Kilistinons" in the 1658 Relation (Thwaites 1899:44.240) and "Kinistinons" in that of 1672 (Thwaites 1899:56.202); unfortunately, in this case we cannot be absolutely sure that the missionaries were not quoting the Cree r-, l-, and n-dialect forms. The name "Menomini" goes through the same changes (Hodge 1907:1.843-844), but there is even more uncertainty about the source language for each form (but note that all the likely languages, except Saulteaux, retained l until the eighteenth century).

Nowadays all Ojibwa dialects have n for Proto-Algonquian *θ and *l. The change from l to n was not abrupt - initial l's became n quite early, since we have "negau" (nēkaw), not lēkaw, for 'sand' (< *lēkawi) in Lahontan's vocabulary and DuJaunay's dictionary, though Lahontan also has some initial l's that remain, e.g. "loutin" (lōtin < *lōtenwi) 'it is windy'. The change of initial l to n may go back a long way, since Miami, which was still an l-dialect in the twentieth century, had the same feature, and Ives Goddard (p.c.) has pointed out that the People of the Fork, "Rasaouakoueton" in the 1640 Relation (Thwaites 1898:18.230), are more often referred to with initial N- in the early records.

The change of non-initial l to n happened much later. Alexander Henry (the elder) was referring to his experiences at Michilimackinac in 1763 when he wrote (Henry 1901.105n)

> ...the substitution of l for n, and n for l, marks one of the differences in the Chipeway and Algonquin dialects.
>
> In the mouth of an Algonquin, it is Michilimackinac; in that of a Chipeway, Michinimackinac.

This is the latest reference to the l-dialect that I have noticed. By 1800 all Ojibwa had n: there are no l's in John Long's 1791 vocabulary (the part he did not copy from Lahontan), the Mississauga manuscripts preserved in

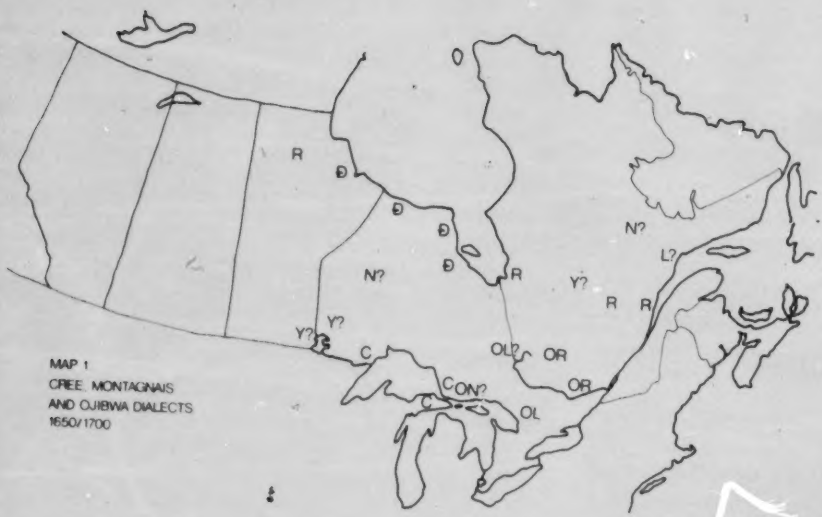
Toronto (Jones 1796, St. George 1801), Alexander Mackenzie's vocabulary (1801), and the treaties signed in the 1790's (Canada 1891:1.1, 3, etc.). By mid-century a native speaker of Odawa (Assikinack 1858.306) could claim that the name Manitoulin (manitōwālink, modern manitōwānink = Manitowaning Bay) is not an Algonquian word -- he suggests it may be from Huron -- because of the l.

Probably 1775 would be a realistic cutoff date for the Middle Ojibwa period. During the same era most of the other Algonquian languages in the area also changed from l to n: Fox-Sauk-Kickapoo, Potawatomi and Menomini all had l in the earliest records, but now have n. The change seems to have taken place at the end of the eighteenth century, though there are tantalizing scraps of evidence that l remained in at least some dialects well into the nineteenth century. In Thomas Forsyth's Fox vocabulary of 1827 (Blair 1911, 2:239-244) about one quarter of the l's remain, e.g. "Pe-a-loo" (pyālo) 'come here' but "Keene" (kīna) 'you', and Schoolcraft (1855:5.619) writes "The Delawares, like the Foxes, substitute the letter l for n".

While a change of l to n is far from rare among the languages of the world, the fact that four related languages all underwent this change during a rather short period of time suggests that it spread from one to another. Before the change took place there was only one n-dialect in the region (Swampy Cree having moved north and west to Hudson Bay and Manitoba), the Saulteaux dialect of Ojibwa, which came into political prominence with the establishment of Michilimackinac and the expansion of western trade. With the increase of long-distance travel occasioned by the fur trade, the groups that had remained separate for so many centuries were thrown back together again, and their speech naturally reflected this. With the end of the fur trade era, the northern Algonquian bands once more settled down into a more isolated existence, and the increasing differences in dialects noted in the last few decades have been the result.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This is a revised version of a paper entitled "A historical overview of Cree-Montagnais dialects" read at the Ninth Algonquian Conference in Worcester, Massachusetts. I would like to thank my colleague Emile Garson, who served as informant for the Swampy Cree dialect of Split Lake, Manitoba, and the many other Cree, Montagnais and Ojibwa speakers who over the years have provided me with the information incorporated into this study. The original version included a section on modern Montagnais dialects which has been rendered superfluous by Marguerite MacKenzie's remarkable presentation at the conference. I would also like to thank the many linguists and historians who offered comments on the original paper; most of their suggested revisions have been incorporated into this version. Substantial parts of this paper were drawn from my forthcoming dissertation (University of Toronto) on Algonquian historical phonology.



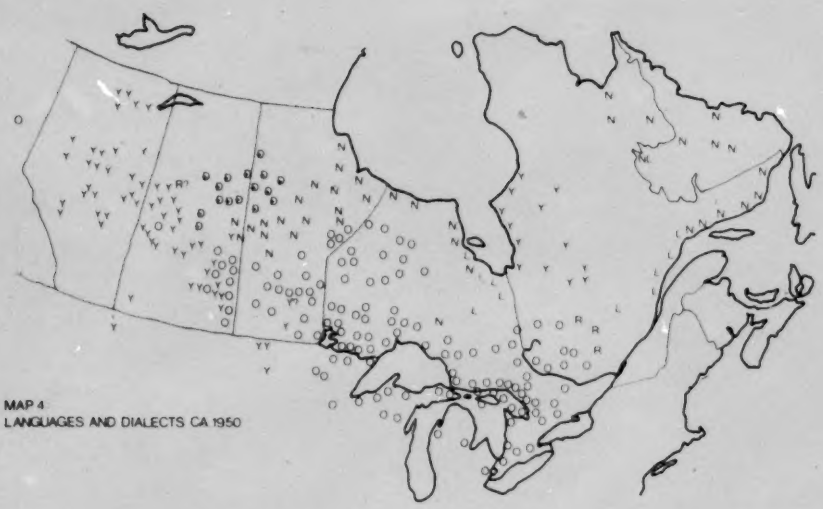
MAPS 1 - 4: Known and assumed locations of Cree, Montagnais and Ojibwa dialects.

Dates are ±25 years, e.g. Map 2 = 1725-1775.

C = Cree undifferentiated
Ð = Woods Cree (*l > ð, e.g. *elenyiwa > iðiniw ~ iðiðiw 'person')
L = Moose Cree & Southern Montagnais (*l > l, e.g. ililiw, iliniw)
N = Swampy Cree & Eastern Montagnais (*l > n, e.g. ininiw
R = Atikamek Cree, Tadoussac Montagnais, &c (*l > r, e.g. iriniw)
Y = Plains Cree & Western Montagnais (*l > y, e.g. iyiniw, i·niw, i·yiw)
O = Ojibwa undifferentiated
OL = *l > Ojibwa l, e.g. ilini
ON = *l > Ojibwa n, e.g. inini
OR = *l > Ojibwa r, e.g. irini

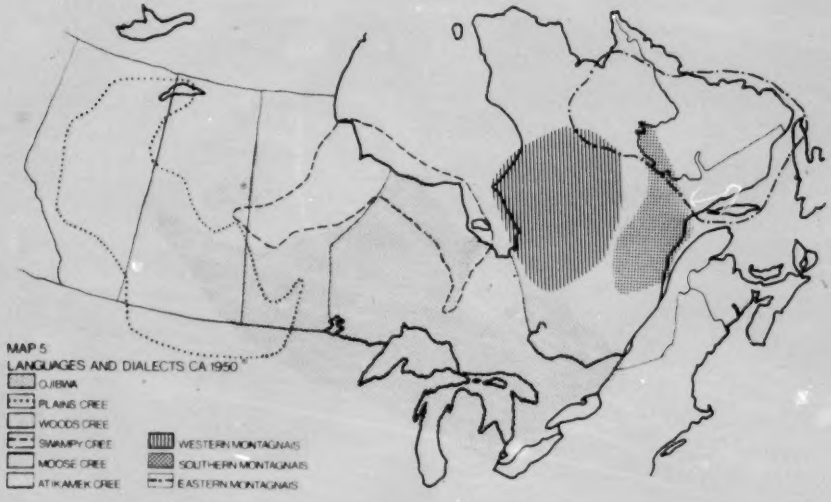
MAP 2
LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS CA 1750

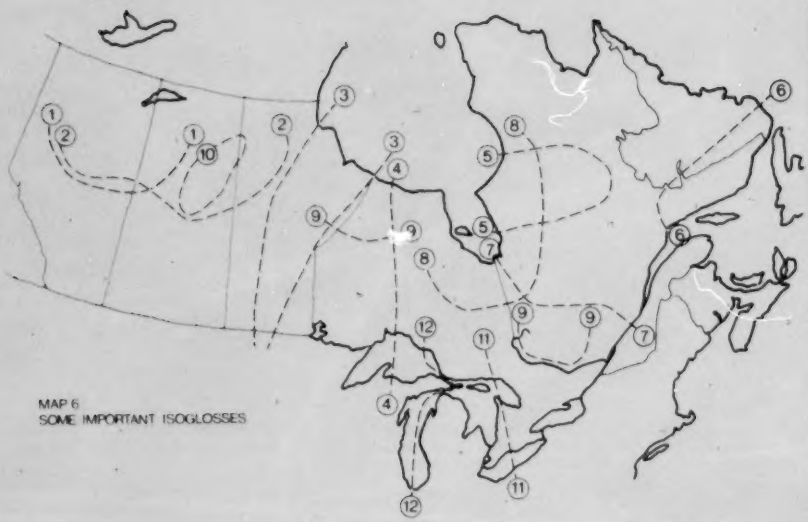
MAP 3
LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS CA 1850



MAP 5: Language and Dialects ca. 1950

Some data as Map 4. The shaded areas the widest known area in which each dialect was spoken in the 20th century, and therefore overlap.





MAP 6
SOME IMPORTANT ISOGLOSSES

MAP 6: Some Important Isoglosses

0. *l > y, ð, n, r, l - see Map 4
1. 3 plural conjunct indicative -twa·w (vs -cik): ē-apitwāw '(when) they sit'
2. *e· > i· : ði·ði·w 'he breathes', ni·w 'four' (*le·hle·wa, *nye·wi)
3. *hc > sc : misce·t 'many', kisci 'big' (Cree only)
4. *š > s (regular in western Cree, s ~ š in western Ojibwa): si·si·p 'duck', oski 'young'
5. *e· > a· : ya·hya·w 'he breathes', na·w 'four'
6. s > h : pine·hi·h 'bird', mahkw 'bear' (Cree pine·si·s, maskwa)
7. *k > c / __ [-back]V : wi·cihc ~ wi·cc 'chez lui' (Cree wi·kihk)
8. *n > l / l V __ : ililiw, iyiyiw ~ i·yow 'person'
9. *nk > k (or hk): wi·kik 'chez lui'
10. *sk > θk : miθko 'blood', no·θkwa·tam 'he licks it'
11. C > [+tense] / __# : western ži·ši·p, eastern ži·ši·b 'duck'
12. [-long, -stress]V > ø : western papa·mose·, eastern pa·mse· 'he walks around'

Toward the Linguistic History of an Algonquian Dialect: Observations on the Wood Vocabulary[1]

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Introduction

On July 7, 1634, a slim volume, New Englands Prospect, purportedly based on the knowledge acquired first-hand by its author, William Wood, during the four years he lived in New England, was entered on the Stationers' Register in London. About William Wood comparatively little is known. He emigrated from England to Massachusetts in 1629, probably settled in Lynn, and returned to England in August of 1633 (Malone 1936, X, 1.476). Details of both his earlier and his later life are shrouded in conjecture. In sharp contrast, the book itself is a veritable gold-mine of information about many aspects of life in early New England. Of particular interest are the author's comments concerning the Indians, to whom he dedicates the entire second part and an appendix. In this paper, I will present a preliminary outline of the phonological developments from Proto-Algonquian to the 'Natives language' as reported by Wood in recordings contained for the most part in a brief nomenclature following the main text. This appendix contains 263 Indian words and/or short phrases, the numbers from 1 to 20, the Indian words for the days and the months, the names of the various tribes in the region, and the names of the principal chiefs, settlements, and rivers. Scattered throughout the second part of the main text are an additional 13 Indian words and/or short phrases.

Concerning the location of the various Indian groups, Wood (1968) writes (56-7):

> The Indians to the East and Northeast, bearing the name of Churchers, and Tarrenteenes. These in the Southerne parts be called Pequants, and Narraganssts; those who are seated West-ward be called Connectacuts, and Mowhacks: Our Indians that live to the North-ward of them be called Aberginians...

Wood makes the following observations about the language of the 'Aberginians' (91-2):

> They pronounce much after the Diphthongs, excluding L and R, which in our English tongue they pronounce with as much difficulty, as most of the Dutch doe T and H, calling a Lobster a Nobstann. Every Countrey doth doe something differ in their Speech, even as our Northerne people doe from the Southerne, and Westerne from them; especially the Tarrenteens, whose tongue runne so much upon R, that they wharle much in pronunciation.

Although these remarks by Wood and an examination of his recordings support the conclusion that the 'Aberginians' spoke an n-dialect, it is quite clear that there is at least some degree of dialect mixture in the Wood materials. For example, in the two words given for 'dog', aunum (< *aθemwa) is the expected form, but aramouse (< *aθemwehša) comes from an r-dialect. I have no clear examples of any words from a y-dialect, but there may well be some. Further, a number of the recordings and/or glosses are problematical and are probably inaccurate. For the purposes of this presentation, I have assumed that all the words recorded by Wood and included in the following discussion are from the dialect of the 'Aberginians', most probably the dialect of Massachusett spoken in the Lynn area (hereafter abbreviated LMs). Further, I have simplified this presentation by including in the following discussion only those words whose Proto-Algonquian equivalents are relatively straightforward. I have determined Proto-Algonquian cognates for well over 100 of the items recorded by Wood. In the majority of cases, therefore, the examples adduced to support a given point are illustrative and not exhaustive. Given the nature of the materials, however, it is inevitable that some points rest on the interpretation of a very small number of examples.

Consonants

Internal and comparative evidence suggests that all Proto-Algonquian single consonants have lenis reflexes in LMs. The principal support for this is the occasional use by Wood of spellings that suggest optional voiced allophones for reflexes that are usually voiceless. Since the spellings in question are restricted to LMs reflexes of Proto-Algonquian single consonants, it is consequently further assumed that the LMs reflexes of Proto-Algonquian consonant clusters are fortis.[2]

1. *p remains unchanged from Proto-Algonquian. Wood writes the LMs reflex as 'p' or 'pp', suggesting voiceless [p]:

papowne 'winter'	*pepo:nwi 'winter'
nippe 'water'	*nepyi 'water'
ottump 'a bow'	*ahta:pya 'bow'

Wood writes 'bb' medially in one word:

abbona 'five'	*napaθe:- 'at/on one side, on the other side'

2. *t likewise remains unchanged from Proto-Algonquian as voiceless [t], written 't' and 'tt' by Wood:

napet 'the arm'	*nexpetwini 'my arm, hand'
ottucke 'a deere'	*atehkwa 'caribou'
cotattup 'I drink to you'	*kewetant- 'you drink'

Wood writes 'd' in one word:

dottaguck 'the backe bone'	*metahtaka:kwani 'someone's backbone'

Although in Proto-Algonquian *t became *č before the inanimate singular noun ending *-i, LMs has analogically restored stem-final *t:

mouskett 'the breech'	*meskečyi 'someone's buttocks, breech'
seat 'the foot'	*mesiči 'someone's foot'

3. *k remains in LMs as voiceless [k], written as 'q' (before 'u'), 'k', 'c', 'cc', or 'ck':

sequan 'the summer'	*si:kwanwi 'it is spring'
mauncheake 'be gonne'	*ma:čyi:kwa 'go (you pl.) away!'
coepot 'ice'	*kepatenwi 'it freezes over'
occotucke 'the throate'	*wekwenta:kani 'his throat'

In one word, which may be a borrowing, Wood writes 'ch' for the LMs reflex of *k:

sachem 'a king'	*sa:kima:wa 'chief'

Several words also appear with the spelling 'g' for the LMs reflex of *k:

dottaguck 'the backe bone'	*metahtaka:kwani 'someone's backbone'
wigwam 'a house'	*wi:kiwa:?mi 'house'
tonagus 'the eares'	*wehta:wakali 'his ears'
gettoquacke 'the knees'	*weketekwaki 'his knees'

4. Proto-Algonquian *h appears as [h] in LMs in the one example I have:

manehops 'sit down'	*-nahapılwe 'sit (you sg.) down!'

5. Proto-Algonquian *č appears in LMs as [č], which Wood writes as 'ch' or 'tch':

matchemauquot 'it stinketh'	*mačimya:kwatwi 'it smells bad'
mauncheake 'be gonne'	*ma:čyi:kwa 'go (you pl.) away!'

6. Proto-Algonquian *s and *š have fallen together as [s] in LMs, written as 's' and 'ss' by Wood:

ausupp 'a rackoone'	*e:sepana (PEA) 'raccoon'
mawcus sinnus 'a paire of shooes'	*maxkesenali 'shoes'
seaseap 'a ducke'	*ši:?ši:pa 'duck'

mocossa 'the black of the naile'	*-xkašya 'nail, claw, hoof'

7. Both *θ and *l become [n] in LMs, even where *θ should have gone to *š before the inanimate singular ending *-i:

nean 'you'	*ni:la 'I'
kean 'I'	*ki:la 'thou'
matchanne 'the nose'	*mečyą:θ-i 'someone's nose'
abbona '5'	*napaθe:- 'at/on one side, on the other side'

In inflectional endings, however, word-final *l becomes [s] in LMs; *θ presumably has the same reflex in this environment, but I have no examples:

mawcus sinnus 'a paire of shoes'	*maxkesenali 'shoes'
tonaqus 'the eares'	*wehta:wakali 'his ears'
manehops 'sit down'	*-nahapilwe 'sit (you sg.) down!'

8. The nasals *m and *n generally remain in LMs as [m] and [n]:

mattone 'the lippes'	*meto:ni 'someone's mouth'
matchemauquot 'it stinketh'	*mačimya:kwatwi 'it smells bad'
sequan 'the summer'	*si:kwanwi 'it is spring'
noeshow 'a father'	*no:hθa 'my father'

In consonant clusters with a nasal first segment, however, the nasal is lost, and the LMs reflexes of such clusters fall together with the reflexes of the single consonants:

occotucke 'the throate'	*wekwenta:kani 'his throat'
wekemawquot 'it smells sweete'	*wi:nkimya:kwatwi 'it smells good'
naw naunidge 'the middle finger'	*-θenčyi 'hand'
whissu hochuck 'the kettle boyleth'	*wensowa 'he comes to a boil'
skesicos 'the eyes'	*meški:nšekwali 'someone's eyes'
yoaw '4'	*nye:wi 'four'

Consonant Clusters

As stated above, the LMs reflexes of all consonant clusters that do not have a nasal initial segment are assumed to be fortis.

9. Of the Proto-Algonquian clusters ending in *p, I have determined a LMs reflex for only one, *xp. Wood writes this as 'p', presumably to indicate hp, probably a voiceless fortis [p]:

napet 'the arm'	*nexpetwini 'my arm, hand'
mawpaw 'it snowes'	*mexpo:wi 'it snows'

10. Of the Proto-Algonquian clusters ending in *t, I again have determined a LMs reflex for only one, *ht. Wood spells this as 't' and 'tt', presumably ht (fortis [t]):

tonagus 'the eares'	*wehta:wakali 'his ears'
dottaguck 'the backe bone'	*metahtaka:kwani 'someone's backbone'
ottump 'a bow'	*ahta:pya 'bow'

11. For the Proto-Algonquian clusters ending in *k, the LMs reflexes are more numerous. The clusters *hk and *xk both become hk (probably fortis [k]) in LMs:

ottucke 'a deere'	*atehkwa 'caribou'
nottoquap 'the skinne'	*natehkwe:pyi 'my skin'
cos 'the nailes'	*-xkašya 'nail, claw, hoof'
mawcus sinnus 'a paire of shooes'	*maxkesenali 'shoes'

The clusters *sk, *šk, and *θk all become sk in LMs. Wood writes 'sk' and 'sq' (before 'u'):

mouskett 'the breech'	*meskečyi 'someone's buttocks, breech'
squi 'red'	*meskwi 'red'
skesicos 'the eyes'	*meški:nšekwali 'someone's eyes'
nisquan 'the elbow'	*neškwani 'my elbow'
muskana 'a bone'	*meθkani 'someone's bone'
squaw 'a woman'	*eθkwe:wa 'woman'

12. The clusters *hs, *hš, and *?š all become hs in LMs (fortis [s]). Wood spells this reflex consistently as 's':

whauksis 'a foxe'	*wa:kwehsehsa 'fox'
ŧaunais 'my daughter'	*neta:nehsa 'my daughter'
seasicke 'a rattle snake'	*ši:hši:kwe:wa 'rattlesnake'
seaseap 'a ducke'	*ši:?ši:pa 'duck'
menisowhock 'the genitals'	*meθe?šiwaki 'someone's testicles'

13. The clusters *hθ and *?θ become hš in LMs, written as both 'sh' and 's' by Wood. Since this is the only case I have found in which the spellings 'sh' and 's' alternate, the LMs reflex here is probably either a fortis [š] or a fortis [ṣ], distinct from the LMs reflex in 12, above:

noeshow 'a father'	*no:hθa 'my father'
shannucke 'a squerill'	*meʔθanyikwa 'big squirrel'
nis '3'	*neʔθwi 'three'

14. I have determined a LMs reflex for only one other cluster, *?m, which becomes LMs m:

wigwam 'a house'	*wi:kiwa:?mi 'house'

Semivowels

The Proto-Algonquian semivowels *w and *y remain as voiced lenis w and y in some environments, but they are lost in others.

15. Initial *w usually remains in LMs:

wompey 'white'	*wa:pi 'white'
whenan 'the tongue'	*wi:θani 'his tongue'

16. Intervocalic *w and *y also usually remain in LMs:

menisowhock 'the genitals'	*meθe?šiwaki 'someone's testicles'
piocke '10'	*pe:yakwi 'ten'

17. Following a consonant, *y is lost everywhere but in the cluster *ny- in initial position (but see note 6):

yoaw '4'	*nye:wi 'four'
ottump 'a bow'	*ahta:pya 'bow'
matchanne 'the nose'	*mečya:θ-i 'someone's nose'

*w is also lost after consonants in some cases:

napet 'the arm'	*nexpetwini 'my arm, hand'
whauksis 'a foxe'	*wa:kwehsehsa 'fox'
skesicos 'the eyes'	*meški:nšekwali 'someone's eyes'

More commonly, however, *w appears to remain after consonants except in word-final position:

squaw 'a woman'	*eθkwe:wa 'woman'
sequan 'the summer'	*si:kwanwi 'it is spring'
squi 'red'	*meskwi 'red'
nisquan 'the elbow'	*neškwani 'my elbow'

Vowels

Given the paucity and quality of the materials, interpretation of the LMs reflexes of the Proto-Algonquian vowels is an extremely difficult task, and the following remarks are highly tentative.[3]

Based on the evidence of the spellings used by Wood, it does not appear that the long and short high vowels merge in LMs.[4]

18. Proto-Algonquian *i: becomes I in LMs, presumably a high front tense vowel, written 'ea', 'ee', 'e', and (rarely) 'i' by Wood:

nean 'you'	*ni:la 'I'

seaseap 'a ducke'	*ši:?ši:pa 'duck'
nees '2'	*ni:šwi 'two'
sequan 'the summer'	*si:kwanwi 'it is spring'
whenan 'the tongue'	*wi:θani 'his tongue'
wigwam 'a house'	*wi:kiwa:?mi 'house'
seasicke 'a rattle snake'	*ši:hši:kwe:wa 'rattlesnake'

19. Proto-Algonquian *i becomes a high front lax i in LMs, with centralized and rounded allophones. It is written as 'ea', 'ey', 'e', but also as 'i', 'u', and 'o':

seat 'the foot'	*mesiči 'someone's foot'
wompey 'white'	*wa:pi 'white'
matchemauquot 'it stinketh'	*mačimya:kwatwi 'it smells bad'
mepeteis 'the teeth'	*mi:pitali 'someone's teeth'
squi 'red'	*meskwi 'red'
nitchicke 'the hand'	*weθenčyikani 'his hand'
shannucke 'a squerill'	*me?θanyikwa 'big squirrel'
menisowhock 'the genitals'	*meθe?šiwaki 'someone's testicles'

20. Proto-Algonquian *o: becomes a high or higher-mid back rounded tense vowel o̅ in LMs, spelled 'o', 'oe', 'ow', 'aw', and 'ou' by Wood:

mattone 'the lippes'	*m[illegible]to:ni 'someone's mouth'
pokitta 'smoake'	*po:kete:wi (PEA) 'fire'
noeshow 'a father'	*no:hθa 'my father'
papowne 'winter'	*pepo:nwi 'winter'
mawpaw 'it [illegible]owes'	*mexpo:wi 'it snows'
commouton kean 'you steale'	*kemo:t- 'steal'

As expected, the Proto-Algonquian sequence *ewe is also o̅ in LMs:

cotattup 'I drink to you'	*kewetant- 'you drink'

21. Short *o (from *we) becomes LMs lax o in the one example I have:

occotucke 'the throate'	*wekwenta:kani 'his throat'

22. Proto-Algonquian *e: is lowered and backed to ā in LMs:

pokitta 'smoake'	*po:kete:wi 'fire'
yoah '4'	*nye:wi 'four'
ausupp 'a rackoone'	*e:sepana (PEA) 'raccoon'
squaw 'a woman'	*eθkwe:wa 'woman'

23. Proto-Algonquian *e becomes a in LMs, but Wood's spellings indicate that it had a wide range of allophones:

ottucke 'a deere'	*atehkwa 'caribou'
aunum 'a dogge'	*aθemwa 'dog'
ausupp 'a rackoone',	*e:sepana (PEA) 'raccoon'
napet 'the arm'	*nexpetwini 'my arm, hand'
papowne 'winter'	*pepo:nwi 'winter'
whissu hochuk 'the kettle boyleth'	*wensowa 'he comes to a boil'
nisquan 'the elbow'	*neškwani 'my elbow'
menota 'a basket'	*meno:te:wi 'bag, sack'
gettoquacke 'the knees'	*weketekwaki 'his knees'
coepot 'ice'	*kepatenwi 'ice'
mouskett 'the breech'	*meskečyi 'someone's buttocks, breech'
mawpaw 'it snowes'	*mexpo:wi 'it snows'

24. The LMs reflexes of Proto-Algonquian *a: are extremely difficult to sort out, particularly since the spellings indicate that there are both nasalized and non-nasalized allophones:

ottump 'a bow'	*ahta:pya 'bow'
wompey 'white'	*wa:pi 'white'
mauncheake 'be gonne'	*ma:čyi:kwa 'go (you pl.) away!'
wawnauco 'yesterday'	*waθa:kw- 'evening (yesterday)'
matchemauquot 'it stinketh'	*mačimya:kwatwi 'it smells bad
wasu tommoc quocke 'halfe a skin of beaver'	*tema:xkwe:wa 'cutter-off-of-trees'
occotucke 'the throate'	*wekwenta:kani 'his throat'

From the recordings, it is clear that *a: does not merge, at least not completely, with *e: in LMs. Its reflexes were probably somewhat higher and more back ([ɑ̄, ɑ̃] ?) than those for *e:, although they too were most probably tense and rounded. Whether or not they were also nasalized everywhere or only in some environments is a matter of some dispute (see Mierle 1975 for a fuller discussion).

25. Proto-Algonquian *a becomes a in LMs, with rounded and centralized allophones:

nisquan 'the elbow'	*neškwani 'my elbow'
whenan 'the tongue'	*wi:θani 'his tongue'
ottump 'a bow'	*ahta:pya 'bow'
abbona '5'	*nepaθe:- 'at/on one side, on the other side'
wawnauco 'yesterday'	*waθa:kw- 'evening (yesterday)'
aunum 'a dogge'	*aθemwa 'dog'
noeshow 'a father'	*no:hθa 'my father'
mepeteis 'the teeth'	*mi:pitali 'someone's teeth'
mawcus sinnus 'a paire of shooes'	*maxkesenali 'shoes'

In one case, the LMs reflex appears to be nasalized:

whoe nunck 'a ditch'	*wa:θakwi 'hole, pit, burrow'

Deletion Phenomena

In the concluding section of this paper, I would like to discuss a number of sound changes that can conveniently be treated together under the heading of deletion phenomena.

26. Initial *e is usually lost in LMs:

squaw 'a woman'	*eθkwe:wa 'woman'
squitta 'a fire sparke'	*eškwete:wi 'fire'

*e and *i are also lost word-internally in some cases:

whauksis 'a foxe'	*wa:kwehsehsa 'fox'[5]
wigwam 'a house'	*wi:kiwa:ʔmi 'house'
manehops 'sit down'	*-nahapilwe 'sit (you sg.) down!'

There are a large number of examples where loss of *e is accompanied by loss of a preceding initial *m-, *n-, or *w-:

dottaguck 'the backe bone'	*metahtaka:kwani 'someone's backbone'
squi 'red'	*meskwi 'red'
shannucke 'a squerill'	*meʔθanyikwa 'big squirrel'
taunais 'my daughter'	*neta:nehsa 'my daughter'
skesicos 'the eyes'	*meški:nšekwali 'someone's eyes'
nitchicke 'the hand'	*weθenčyikani 'his hand'

In two cases, initial *n- is lost, but the following vowel is not:

abbona '5'	*napaθe:- 'at/on one side, on the other side'
a quit '1'	*nekwetwi 'one'

27. Except in particles, final *-i and the preceding post-consonantal semivowel, if any, are dropped in LMs:[6]

mouskett 'the breech'	*meskečyi 'someone's buttocks, breech'
a quit '1'	*nekwetwi 'one'
sequan 'the summer'	*si:kwanwi 'it is spring'
whenan 'the tongue'	*wi:θani 'his tongue'
nisquan 'the elbow'	*neškwani 'my elbow'

Two particles clearly retain final *-i in LMs:

squi 'red'	*meskwi 'red'
wompey 'white'	*wa:pi 'white'

Final *-a and the preceding postconsonantal semivowel, if any, also seem to be lost everywhere in LMs:

ottump 'a bow'	*ahta:pya 'bow'
aunum 'a dogge'	*aθemwa 'dog'
nean 'you'	*ni:la 'I'

The final sequence *-we is also lost in LMs:

meatchis 'be merry'	*mi:čelwe 'eat (you sg.)!'
manehops 'sit down'	*-nahapilwe 'sit (you sg.) down!'

This sequence becomes o elsewhere in LMs:

occotucke 'the throate'	*wekwenta:kani 'his throat'

28. Following the loss of final vowels, a word-final sequence of vowel plus *n is deleted:

napet 'the arm'	*nexpetwini 'my arm, hand'
coepot 'ice'	*kepatenwi 'ice'
ausupp 'a rackoone'	*e:sepana (PEA) 'raccoon'
occotucke 'the throate'	*wekwenta:kani 'his throat'

There are some exceptions to this rule:

sequan 'the summer'	*si:kwanwi 'it is spring'
whenan 'the tongue'	*wi:θani 'his tongue'

If the root would be reduced to less than one syllable, this rule does not operate:

nisquan 'the elbow'	*neškwani 'my elbow'

Finally, a word-final sequence of vowel plus *w is also often deleted in nouns, but again there are a number of exceptions, and it is often difficult to determine whether the semivowel is present or not:

seasicke 'a rattle snake'	*ši:hši:kwe:wa 'rattlesnake'
netop 'a friend'	*ni:ta:pe:wa 'my fellow man'
sachem 'a king'	*sa:kima:wa 'chief'
menota 'a basket'	*meno:te:wi 'bag, sack'
squaw 'a woman'	*eθkwe:wa 'woman'
squitta 'a fire sparke'	*eškwete:wi 'fire'

This sequence is apparently retained in verbs, but I have only one example:

whissu hochuk 'the kettle boyleth'	*wensowa 'he comes to a boil'

NOTES

[1] I would like to thank William Cowan and Gordon Day for the encouragement and assistance they gave me while I was working on this paper. I would also like to acknowledge my debt to David Pentland, with whom I have had numerous discussions and an extended correspondence on problems of Algonquian historical linguistics, particularly those posed by dead languages such as Narragansett, from which I have benefited greatly. Needless to say, I alone am responsible for any shortcomings in the analysis presented here.

[2] See Aubin 1977 for discussion of a similar situation in Narragansett.

[3] Determination of the exact sounds Wood intended to represent with his spellings is a problem everywhere, but particularly so in the case of the LMs vowels. As Philip Barbour pointed out in the discussion following presentation of this paper, the dialectal variation in vowel pronunciation was presumably as great at the time of Wood as it is in present-day England. Until much more is known about Wood and his pronunciation, any analysis of the LMs vowels must of necessity be considered tentative.

[4] Because some of the spellings do in fact overlap, in the discussion following presentation of this paper, Ives Goddard argued for the merger of the long and short high vowels in LMs, contending that these spellings show that the reflexes in LMs do not contrast. The overlap, however, is asymmetrical, with the spellings of the long vowel reflexes showing more apparent consistency than those of the short vowel reflexes (see Aubin 1972 for discussion of a similar situation in Narragansett). Given the difficulties of interpretation of the materials, until much more work has been done on the vowel systems of other dialects of Massachusett, I prefer to remain a 'splitter' rather than a 'lumper' on this point.

[5] Alternatively, this can be viewed as a deletion of *o from *we.

[6] The only exception to this may be the word nippe 'water' from PA *nepyi, which can be interpreted as having an epenthetic -i- inserted before the stem-final postconsonantal *y.

Tradition orale et action politique montagnaises: le cas de la rivière Natashquan

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C'est le début de l'été, depuis quelques jours déjà les saumons remontent les rivières. Des Montagnais qui ont tendu leurs filets à l'intérieur des limites d'un club privé sont abordés par des gardes-pêche. Les saumons sont saisis ainsi que les filets.

De tels événements sont courants sur la rivière Natashquan ainsi que sur toutes les rivières à saumon de la Côte Nord québécoise et ce depuis une centaine d'années. En 1859, le gouvernement retira à la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson le monopole qu'elle avait sur les rivières, passa une loi interdisant la pêche au saumon et se mit à louer les rivières à des particuliers. A partir de ce moment là les Montagnais commencèrent à se faire confisquer leurs filets, ce qui ne fut pas sans conséquence pour leur économie. Les lettres des missionnaires oblats, par exemple, mentionnent que la nouvelle loi réduit leurs ouailles à la famine. A partir de 1859 donc, les Montagnais sont contraints de braconner sur les rivières. Il semble cependant que, sur la rivière Natashquan du moins, il y ait eu une certaine tolérance de la part des gardes-pêche qui laissèrent les Indiens s'approvisionner pour leur subsistance. De leur côté ceux-ci s'arrangèrent pour pêcher sans être vus, respectant officiellement la loi.

Actuellement il se fait de la pêche commerciale à l'embouchure de la rivière. Quant à la rivière elle-même, elle est louée sur une grande partie de son parcours à deux clubs commerciaux qui ont leur sièges sociaux l'un à Matane (Pourchape Inc.) l'autre à Montréal (Les Pourvoyeurs de Natashquan). Ils payent un loyer annuel au gouvernement, moyennant quoi ils peuvent procurer à des particuliers la joie coûteuse de la pêche au saumon à la ligne. Les clients de ces clubs de pourvoyeurs viennent généralement de Montréal, de Québec, de l'Ontario ou des Etats-Unis. Pendant ce temps et les Montagnais et les résidents blancs de Natashquan pêchent en catimini dans la crainte constante de se faire saisir leurs filets.

C'est en effet ce qui arrive au cours de la saison 1976 à quatre Montagnais qui pêchent dans la rivière Natashquan. Mais cette fois-ci tout est différent. Voyant les pêcheurs revenir bredouilles et surtout lestés de leurs filets, les gens du village décident d'aller récupérer ce que les leurs se sont fait prendre. Avisant un garde-pêche en congé, ils le forcent plus ou moins à les accompagner et c'est une flottille de plusieurs canots comprenant entre 25 et 30 hommes qui remonte la rivière jusqu'aux établissements du club. Le nombre et la détermination des Montagnais persuadèrent le gérant du club de rendre rapidement les filets et les saumons. Il promit même qu'il viendrait voir le Conseil de bande et que l'on pourrait discuter tranquillement

de cette affaire. Après de multiples démarches qui mobilisèrent le Conseil Attikamek-Montagnais, le Conseil de bande, le Comité des pêcheurs de Natashquan, le gérant du club, des fonctionnaires du ministère du Tourisme, chasse et pêche, les parties en sont venues l'été suivant à une entente selon laquelle les Montagnais pourront pêcher pour leur subsistance jusqu'à 9 milles en amont de la rivière.

Victoire pour les uns qui se réjouissent de pouvoir tendre leurs filets en paix, capitulation sans fondement pour d'autres qui se disent maîtres de toute la rivière, cette entente, de toute façon, devra être renégociée périodiquement.

Pendant le même été 1976, quatre Montagnais de Natashquan travaillent à recueillir auprès des personnes âgées les éléments de la tradition orale que celles-ci trouvent important de transmettre. Les enregistrements seront déposés à l'école de la réserve et mis à la disposition de tous. Parmi les récits recueillis, au moins trois portent sur la rivière Natashquan et l'un contient la narration des événements de l'été.[1]

C'est ce récit généré sans le moindre retard qu'il m'intéresse d'examiner ici. Parmi les multiples aspects que l'on pourrait étudier, je n'en retiendrai que deux:
- la façon dont le narrateur rapporte les événements,
- la façon dont il enchasse ces événements dans la longue tradition des récits relatant la lutte pour le territoire.

Je tenterai ensuite de dégager les fondements des droits territoriaux dans la pensée montagnaise, tels du moins qu'ils transparaissent dans la tradition orale.

La façon dont le conteur rapporte les événements

L'auteur du récit que nous allons examiner est Michel Grégoire reconnu comme conteur par sa communauté et âgé de plus de 80 ans. En réalité, bien que son discours soit assez long, il n'en consacre qu'un sixième à la narration de la saisie des filets et de leur récupération.

Il commence en disant que les gardes-pêche ont attendu qu'il y ait plusieurs filets dans la rivière et que beaucoup de saumons aient été pris, laissant sous-entendre que les gens du club saisissent le saumon pour leur propre consommation. Puis il indique que ce poisson, qui devait servir de nourriture aux Montagnais l'hiver suivant, a justement été saisi par ceux qui, eux-mêmes, ont toute facilité de pêcher dans la rivière, et donc n'en ont nul besoin.

C'est ensuite la mention rapide, sans détail, du retour des pêcheurs, de la propagation de la nouvelle, du départ des hommes dans sept canots à moteur, de leur arrivée au club en compagnie d'un garde-pêche qu'ils ont entraîné avec eux.

Le conteur rapporte ensuite la série d'ordres que donnèrent les Montagnais et leur exécution immédiate par le gérant du club.

Puis il raconte comment les hommes sont passés à l'action. L'un d'eux, qui était le policier de la réserve, fouilla le club sous les yeux interdits du gérant, de ses

acolytes et des clients du club. Le conteur décrit ces derniers comme terrorisés et muets. Il explique que si les Indiens n'avaient rien fait, les gardes-pêche les auraient insultés. Dans le récit, les rôles sont en fait inversés par rapport à ce que les Montagnais vivent d'habitude: ce sont eux qui parlent, qui commandent, tandis que les Blancs, rendus muets par la peur, exécutent les ordres sans discussion.

La narration des événements de la rivière se termine par l'aboutissement de ce renversement de situation: les Blancs offrent de la nourriture aux Indiens, les saluent à leur départ, bref ont un comportement amical.

Le conteur conclut cette partie de son discours en disant que l'on ne connait pas encore tous les détails de cette affaire, laissant ainsi comprendre que son récit n'est pas définitivement fixé.

Mais, comme cela a été mentionné plus haut, ce récit ne constitue qu'une partie d'un discours qu'il s'agit maintenant de décrire.

Insertion du récit dans la tradition de la lutte pour le territoire

Le discours de Michel Grégoire commence par une affirmation: les Montagnais occupaient le territoire et se servaient de la rivière Natashquan avant l'arrivée des Européens.

> "Autrefois il n'y avait personne ici sur la rivière Natashquan, personne d'autre que des Montagnais."

Un autre conteur, parlant également de la rivière, commence ainsi son exposé:

> "Autrefois il n'y avait personne d'autre ici que les Montagnais. Ce territoire est à eux, il est leur terre."

Or on retrouve ce type d'entrée en matière dans les récits rapportant les conflits avec les Micmacs, et dans ceux qui relatent l'arrivée des Français à Québec ainsi que l'installation des Acadiens sur la Côte-Nord. Donc dans des récits rendant compte de contestations à propos du territoire.

Après cette introduction, le conteur relate les événements de 1976, puis il développe d'autres thèmes.

Il explique tout d'abord que les Blancs ne connaissent pas l'intérieur des terres. Autrefois ils restaient en haute mer ou sur la côte, ils ne venaient jamais sur les rivières importuner les Montagnais. Le conteur invoque ici la répartition de l'espace entre les Montagnais et les Blancs, répartition selon laquelle les Montagnais ont reçu l'intérieur en partage tandis qu'aux Blancs revient la côte avec ses ressources, dont essentiellement la morue. (On sait que les Blancs de Natashquan sont d'origine acadienne et que, lorsqu'ils s'implantèrent sur la côte au milieu du siècle dernier, ils vivaient de pêche).

"C'est aux Blancs que fut donnée la haute mer afin qu'ils en vivent. Saint Pierre a dû leur dire: il y aura beaucoup de morue et grâce à cela vous survivrez. Tandis qu'aux Indiens revient l'intérieur des terres."

Ce thème est traité dans ce que l'on pourrait appeller les récits de l'alliance, c'est-à-dire ceux qui relatent l'arrivée des Européens et l'espèce de modus vivendi qui s'en suivit: les Français devaient rester sur la côte à pêcher et cultiver le blé et, en échange de l'autorisation de s'installer, ils devaient procurer de la farine aux Amérindiens.

Le conteur développe ensuite le thème de l'importance de la rivière dans le cycle annuel montagnais. Il explique comment elle permettait de monter vers l'intérieur, comment ses saumons étaient essentiels comme provision pour l'automne et le début de l'hiver jusqu'à ce que l'on ait rejoint le caribou et ensuite comment, après la séparation de l'hiver, on attendait ensemble que la rivière dégèle au printemps pour redescendre à la côte et aller chasser à l'embouchure le loup-marin fournisseur de graisse. La rivière Natashquan constituait donc à la fois une voie de passage et un réservoir de nourriture dont l'importance était vitale. A l'appui de cette thèse, le conteur rapporte le cas d'un homme et de ses trois fils qui partirent vers l'intérieur sans provision de saumon séché et qui n'échappèrent à la mort que de justesse, n'ayant que des baies pour se nourrir.

Le thème de l'importance de la rivière pour la survie des Montagnais figure dans les récits relatant les conflits avec les Micmacs. On sait que ceux-ci sont accusés par les Montagnais d'avoir voulu leur prendre leurs femmes et leurs rivières. Ce thème revient également dans tous les récits rapportant la vie des Montagnais à l'époque pré-farine, c'est à dire alors que les Montagnais vivaient de façon auto-suffisante trouvant dans la forêt tout ce dont ils avaient besoin à l'exception des fusils et des munitions. Pour bien situer la période à laquelle il refère, Michel Grégoire raconte alors la venue du bateau qui, pour la première fois, apporta d'importantes provisions de farine. On sait qu'ensuite la farine remplaça en partie le saumon séché comme provision de route vers l'intérieur.

Enfin le conteur effleure à peine un dernier thème, celui des conflits avec les Inuit. Il dit qu'arrivés à l'embouchure de la rivière, les Montagnais tuaient ceux qui les importunaient, dont les Inuit.

Les événements de 1976 ne sont donc pas racontés seulement pour eux-mêmes. Ils sont aussitôt mis dans un contexte qui fait appel à de grands thèmes fréquemment repris par la tradition orale montagnaise soit:
- l'exceptionnelle importance de la rivière pour les Montagnais et ce depuis des temps très anciens.
- la défense de la rivière contre les attaques des Inuit et des Micmacs.
- par rapport aux Blancs, l'antériorité de la présence montagnaise sur la Côte Nord et ensuite l'entente en ce

qui concerne le partage de l'espace, les uns recevant la côte, les autres l'intérieur.

Les fondements des droits territoriaux dans la tradition orale montagnaise

On peut se demander maintenant sur quoi la pensée montagnaise fonde le droit au territoire et de quelle sorte de droit il s'agit. J'ai examiné pour le savoir une douzaine de récits qui portent soit sur la rivière Natashquan, soit sur les batailles avec les Micmacs et les Inuit, soit sur le partage du territoire avec les Blancs ou l'usurpation des terres par ces derniers. Cela ne suffit pas à cerner de façon satisfaisante les fondements des droits territoriaux dans la pensée montagnaise, mais cela permet de poser quelques jalons qui pourront être utiles ultérieurement.

Les récits portant sur le territoire commencent en général ou contiennent à un moment donné l'affirmation de la priorité des Montagnais. Autrefois, disent-ils, il n'y avait pas un seul Blanc, il n'y avait personne d'autre ici que les Montagnais. Et l'on ajoute parfois: comment la rivière et le territoire pourraient-il appartenir aux Blancs puisque ceux-ci n'étaient pas là? Cette idée d'une occupation ancienne est démontrée par la description des activités de subsistance qui s'y déroulaient et ce depuis toujours, bien avant que les Blancs n'arrivent. Donc, premier point: l'ancienneté de l'occupation.

Un autre argument revient très souvent: celui des sentiers de portage. Ce sont les Montagnais qui ont ouvert les voies de communication de l'intérieur, tracé les sentiers de portage au cours de plusieurs siècles passés à repérer les meilleurs endroits pour la pêche et à marcher dans l'intérieur des terres. Lorsque les Blancs sont arrivés, ils ont tout simplement volé ces chemins. A Natashquan, le club privé est installé sur le sentier de portage, il y a des écriteaux partout. Bref, d'après les récits, les Blancs se sont emparés en un tournemain de ce que des générations de Montagnais avaient mis en place à force de labeur et de temps. Puisque les Blancs n'ont investi aucun travail dans l'intérieur, pourquoi y auraient-ils des droits? Ils ont investi leur travail sur la côte--les Montagnais admirent les anciens pêcheurs acadiens qui passaient des nuits entières à pêcher la morue--qu'ils restent donc sur la côte. Un deuxième fondement du droit au territoire serait donc l'investissement en travail de générations d'ancêtres.

Un autre argument revient souvent dont il a largement été question déjà: c'est grâce à la rivière et aux territoires de l'intérieur que les Montagnais de Natashquan ont pu et peuvent se nourrir et survivre. D'après un conteur, les Montagnais sont à ce point conscients de la nécessité pour eux de garder leur territoire qu'ils ont toujours veillé à protéger le gibier et le poisson, tandis que les Blancs ont tendance à les gaspiller. La rivière Natashquan est particulièrement importante à cet égard car elle est la voie de communication permettant d'accéder aux ressources, d'aller du phoque au caribou, de l'été à l'hiver

et vice-versa. Encore aujourd'hui elle contribue grandement à la subsistance en fournissant le saumon. Il n'est donc pas question de la céder à qui que ce soit. Un troisième fondement du droit des Montagnais serait donc la nécessité de la rivière et des territoires pour survivre (que ce soit autrefois ou aujourd'hui).

D'autre part, les Montagnais supposent que leur présence sur le territoire fait partie d'un plan englobant toute la terre. Les Noirs vivent en Afrique, les Chinois en Chine, les Français et les Anglais en Europe, etc. Jamais les Montagnais ne sont allés importuner les autres chez eux. On se demande pourquoi ceux-ci sont sortis des limites que Dieu leur avait assignées. Ils se disent donc occupants du territoire de par la volonté d'un pouvoir surnaturel, propriétaires de droit divin, si l'on peut dire.

Malgré tout, lorsque les Français sont arrivés, considérant qu'ils venaient de la mer, les Montagnais leur cédèrent la côte. Ainsi le raconte la tradition orale, mais, et elle est claire là dessus, la partie cédée se limitait à la côte. Les Montagnais se disent seuls maîtres de l'intérieur. Ils font état d'une entente à ce sujet avec les Français, ainsi que de la coutume qui a fait que ces derniers restaient en bordure de la mer. Le cinquième fondement de leur droit au territoire serait donc cette ancienne entente avec les Européens.

Il y a davantage encore. De la même façon que les saumons dont les oeufs éclosent à la tête des rivières sont originaires de l'intérieur même s'ils descendent jusqu'à la mer, de la même façon que les rivières elles-mêmes ont leur source dans l'intérieur même si elles se jettent dans la mer, les Montagnais sont eux aussi originaires de l'intérieur des terres même s'ils se trouvent sédentarisés au bord des dunes. Comment peut-on dissocier les saumons des rivières et les Montagnais des saumons et des rivières? Comment peut-on concevoir que les rivières qui originent de l'intérieur puissent appartenir à ceux qui originent de la haute mer? D'autre part, de la même façon que l'on ne peut empêcher les poissons de filer dans les rivières, on ne peut empêcher les Montagnais de suivre les poissons et les rivières et de retourner à leur source. Ce sixième argument fait donc appel à une symbolique qui lie les Montagnais à l'intérieur des terres.

D'après les récits recueillis à Natashquan, le droit au territoire se fonde donc sur une série d'arguments d'ordre historique, économique, juridique, symbolique, etc. Il n'y a aucun doute dans la pensée de la plupart des Montagnais quant au droit qu'ils possèdent sur leur territoire et donc quant au droit qu'ils auraient éventuellement à le défendre comme ils le défendaient autrefois.

Une analyse plus poussée permettrait de voir de quel droit il s'agit et de fournir la réponse montagnaise à la question que les juristes posent aux archives et à l'histoire: droit de propriété, droit d'usufruit, droit de gérance privilégiée?

Il faudrait voir aussi si la tradition ne désigne pas certains territoires ou certains axes comme plus essentiels que d'autres à l'exercice de ce droit, si les rivières et

leurs bassins, par exemple, ne seraient pas les hauts lieux du droit au territoire? Pour l'instant contentons nous de dire que la tradition orale invoque clairement ce droit.

Les Montagnais d'autre part, du moins ceux qui ne font pas partie des Conseils de bandes et autres exécutifs d'associations, ne semblent pas plus au courant de la vision du monde propre au gouvernement que celui-ci ne l'est de la leur. Ils disent par exemple que les Indiens ont prêté une petite partie de la rivière Natashquan aux gens du club et ce pour une période de temps limitée, ou que l'on pourrait brûler les établissements des Blancs puisqu'ils sont situés en terre montagnaise. Nulle part dans les récits ou dans les conversations avec les personnes âgées il n'est question d'un droit quelconque du gouvernement sur la rivière.

Les journaux et les hommes politiques tendent à faire croire que les mouvements de protestation amérindiens sont noyautés par des agitateurs marxistes. Lorsque, au milieu de l'été 1977, une centaine de Montagnais de La Romaine ont remonté le cours de leur rivière jusque dans les limites du club de pêche, La Presse a laissé entendre que cette manifestation avait été suscitée par des cinéastes et anthropologues (voir article de J.G. Duguay, le 8 août 1977 et la réponse de R. Savard le 25 août suivant). Il est facile de faire passer les Amérindiens pour des fantoches primitifs et naïfs, aisément manoeuvrables. Mais c'est méconnaitre le fait qu'ils situent leur action présente sur les rivières à saumon dans le contexte tout à fait traditionnel de la lutte pour le contrôle de ces rivières. Ainsi que j'ai essayé de le montrer, les événements qui concernent ces dernières sont aussitôt relatés par les conteurs et rattachés aux récits de la défense du territoire.

Qu'il s'agisse de manifestations pour que soient reconnus des droits territoriaux, des droits linguistiques ou autres, l'analyse que nous en faisons doit, bien sûr, tenir compte du phénomène général de protestation contre le pouvoir qui a marqué les années 60 et 70, mais ce serait une erreur que de ne pas voir à quel point les actions récentes des Montagnais sont ancrées dans l'histoire telle qu'ils la disent et font appel aux ressources de leur culture. Dans le même ordre d'idée, comment pouvons nous parler d'éteindre des droits territoriaux amérindiens sans nous demander au préalable ce que les Amérindiens eux-mêmes entendent par droits territoriaux?

NOTE

[1] Ces enregistrements ont été effectués dans le cadre d'un projet qui visait à constituer une audiothèque pour la population de Natashquan. Ce projet fut animé par l'auteur assistée de Joséphine Bacon. Il fut administré par le Conseil Attikamek-Montagnais et subventionné par le Secrétariat d'Etat (1976).

La transcription et la traduction du discours qui sert

de base à cet article ont été effectuées par Joséphine Bacon grâce à une subvention du ministère des Affaires culturelles du Québec. Le texte du discours doit figurer dans un rapport à ce ministère (Service d'archéologie et d'ethnologie, 1978). La plupart des autres récits mentionnés font partie d'un rapport au Musée national de l'Homme intitulé: "L'histoire dans la tradition orale montagnaise" (1975).

Game Shortage and the Inland Fur Trade in Northern Québec, 1915 to 1940

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During the several hundred years of their involvement in the fur trade the Cree Indians of Northern and Northeastern Québec had an economy in which a balance was maintained between two sectors, subsistence production and the production of fur which was exchanged for imported European manufactures. The operation of each of these sectors was not independent of the other; both took place within the same social organizational forms, and both were effected by changes in production strategies.

This interdependence can be shown by examining how the overall socio-economic organizational pattern reacted to historical and ecological changes, either in the market side of the economy (the harvest of furs and their exchange for imported supplies) or on the subsistence side (the harvesting of food and other raw materials from the bush to be consumed by the producing group). A recent, but as yet not very well known, case of drastic change to the socio-economic pattern due to a combination of ecological factors and market factors which effected the whole of the Québec-Labrador peninsula is the starvation period of the 1920s and 1930s. In this paper I will approach the question of how this general phenomenon affected a particular group of Indians, the Fort George, Great Whale River and Nichicun 'Inlanders', by first outlining a general conceptual model of the major social divisions in the peninsula as a whole during the fur trade. I will then show that the major changes in hunting and trapping activities which were undertaken by the Indians in question can be largely accounted for in terms of the general model. Specifically, in relation to the question posed above regarding the relationship between subsistence and market economic activity, I will show that the changes did not bring to an end the elements of the model, but caused groups to shift their positions within the structure.

In describing the model it must be realized that I have not tried to deal with the transformation from an aboriginal, pre-fur trade, or pre-contact situation to the later situation of economic production within the context of the exchange of raw furs for manufactured imports. I will rather assume only the existence of a post-contact situation, and furthermore a situation where the production and exchange processes for raw fur have become well institutionalized. Thus we are looking at Québec-Labrador Indians hunting and trapping, dependent on an external agency for supplies, and therefore engaged in an annual regime of summer visits to the trading post, and winter dispersal back

to the productive areas. Two basic seasons were observed, summer and winter, each with its own pattern of production and its system of distribution, each with a different emphasis placed on the form of social organization, each emphasizing a particular set of legal, ritual and ideological expressions. The key social instituations are (1) the winter hunting group, and (2) the summer trading post 'band', respectively.

Within the area occupied by these groups there is a second major division, roughly equivalent to the contrast between those groups exploiting the boreal forest proper, and those exploiting the northern extremes of mixed open forest and tundra. However, more significant than vegetation cover is the dominant game animal species that are present. In the northern and eastern parts of the peninsula there are a series of herds of caribou. Although the size of the herds has fluctuated drastically, we can still identify now the same herds for which historical evidence can also be found. These herds are the Lac Bienville-Seal Lake herd (Low's Western herd), the Caniapiskau Lake herd, the George River herd, which gathers each fall but breaks up each winter into branches, one of which winters near Fort Chimo and another in northern Labrador (Low 1896), the Red Wine herd, the Lac Joseph herd and the Mealy Mountain herd. South and west of a line that separates this continguous region of large herds of caribou other, small groups of caribou may be found, but are so thinly scattered that they can at best provide only a small portion of the subsistence requirements of hunter-trappers. On the other hand, the southern and western part is rich in beaver and moose, although the latter are recent arrivals. Also, bears and small game animals are more plentiful in the southwestern portion. In terms of resources in the northern and western area they are generally more thinly scattered, but when the caribou herds assemble where the Indians can hunt them subsistence is available in abundance. Thus a fairly reliable abundance was available at particular locations but only at certain times of the year. In the southern and eastern area the resources are by contrast comparatively rich, and more evenly scattered.

Apart from the direct effects on the pattern of hunting and trapping activities which this contrast entails, each area has its characteristic social forms, in the form of such patterns as stable vs unstable hunting groups, concensus vs competitive leadership, and in the different land tenure systems which involve a system of hunting territories in one case, as opposed to the other that does not. In the south and west portion where such a hunting territory system does exist it does not involve fixed tracts and rigid inheritance rules, at least not in the areas with which I am familiar. But like any system of ownership, it has an ideology which may suggest that it is less flexible than it in fact is. Thus the contrast in types of economic

production which follows the forest-barren land division, like the summer-winter division, is not merely a matter of an ecological contrast and its direct consequences. Both the divisions are primarily concerned with the social recognition and the social elaboration of the different material conditions in such a way as to add a symbolic and an evaluative component to the material contrast.

Among the boreal forest groups most especially we may note a further major social division. Each of the bands that gather at a trading post each summer recognizes this division independently of the others, by distinguishing that part of the band that remains close to the post from that group that spends the hunting-trapping season a considerable distance off in the bush. This division cuts through all of the forest group bands. It is all the more remarkable that the James Bay groups and the North Shore of the St. Lawrence groups use the same term for this contrast: Wiinibeyk Iiyuu and Nohcimiic Iiyuu ('Salt water people' and 'Bush people'). Again, the opposition is based on an ecological distinction, but one which is transformed into a pair of social categories. The recognition of these groups divide the band, in effect, into moieties, each of which in practice tends to be endogamous. Each group is specialized in particular types of productive activities, and individuals of the same moiety are believed by members of the other to share certain personality characteristics. There is usually some idea of inequality or ranking between the two groups, although the evidence is not entirely clear on the question of whether the system is one of two competitive groups, each of which ranks its own moiety above the other, or if, at least under some historical conditions, one of the groups accepts an inferior position with respect to the other. A similar problem of deciding if a competitive or a hierarchical relationship exists with the division between the forest groups and the barren land groups. In both cases historical evidence that is available is often biased in favour of the group with greater access to Whites, i.e. the 'post' group, and the forest Indians, and therefore does not altogether settle the question.

The two groups often occupy different sides or ends of the permanent trading post village, as, for example, at Fort George. The institution, as far as the James Bay posts are concerned, derives from earlier institution of the 'Home Guard' Indians, who were employed to supply the Hudson's Bay Company post with game meat and fish, were hired as labourers, and who were employed on the canoe brigades. They also trapped independently, but stayed relatively close to the post. Today they continue to have their hunting territories close to the post, and they are able to visit the post from the hunting camps several times during the winter. In Mistassini, the 'Home Guard' was never more than a few families, and today the term 'Inlander' or 'Nohcimiic Iiyuu' is used, but in contrast to 'Mistisinii

Iiyuu', who spend the winter at the post. However, the latter group of hunter-trappers never go far from the post, return to the post often during the winter, and make themselves available for any part-time or casual wage work, if it becomes available.

There is some evidence that those Mistassini who at one time traded at Lac St Jean were given a separate place to camp at Pointe Bleue, and were treated (similarly to inlanders elsewhere) as a far distant and unsophisticated group. Similarly, at Mistassini such a distinction, in both attitudes and in assigned camping place, was made between the members of the former Nichicun and Neoskweskau bands and the original Mistassini band. Leacock points out the distinction between the 'interior' people and the 'salt water' people was reflected in their summer encampments in the Sept Iles region in the early 1950s (1954). Gregoire (1977) has shown that the present-day Montagnais, living at Schefferville, who until recently were formally on the Sept Iles band list, now insist that they are the descendants of an 'inlander' group that is quite separate from the Sept Iles group, who they look down on as 'salt water' people.

Apart from this ideological opposition between the two groups, they can also be differentiated on the basis of their economy. The coasters on James Bay specialize in spring and fall goose hunting, seal hunting and summer fishing. Winter trapping included frequent visits to the store and a greater dependance on store food. While on the St. Lawrence, 'coasters' specialize in seal hunting and, in the past, on cod fishing. Thus we may say that the opposition between 'post' Indians and 'inland' Indians is again an ecological contrast, one which is used to define two patterns of productivity, and the social groups which engage in these activities are then treated as opposed to each other at the level of kinship, of symbolism and of evaluative norms, as well as at the economic level.

At a formal level, the foregoing set of contrasts (summer/winter, forest/barrens, 'post'/'inland') share a common underlying form, which may be expressed as a general opposition between "proximate to White Society"/"distant from White society". The implication of this contrast, if relevant, may explain some of the attitudes and values attached to these various social divisions. This model, however, is merely a static form. Actual groups of Indians undergo changes in their conditions, and these affect their position in this theoretical matrix. What we now wish to show is that historical change, particularly change in ecological conditions, results in changes in productive strategies, and these changes can be seen as tendencies of groups to shift their position within the model.

One of the more important changes which Indian hunter-trappers have faced in Québec-Labrador in the present century has to be a series of drastic declines in several major game species. From before the turn of the century

until the 1950s the barren ground caribou population fluctuated and declined rapidly, and only slowly has regained its former size. This decline effected primarily the herd of the Interior Great Whale River, Nichicun, Fort Chimo, Kaniapiskau, George River and Michigamau regions; in other words, the area of barren land herds. The other, smaller herds to be southeast of the peninsula, the Lac Joseph and Mealy Mountains herds, were at first unaffected, although they began to decline to a small extent in the 1930s, and then more drastically after the 1950s. The other major drop in animal population has been that of the beaver, and this was followed by several other small mammal species. This decline appears to have begun around the 1920s in Mistassini and later it was noted on the east coast of James Bay, from where it spread east and north. Several attempts have been made to account independently for these drastic declines in the populations of the major game species in their respective areas. These species have been subject to rapid population changes in other parts of Canada, as well as in Québec-Labrador in earlier times. The specific causes suggested for these particular cases include the idea that they were due to a natural cyclical decline, due in the case of both caribou and beaver, to the forest reaching a mature stage, followed by widespread fires, which wiped out the habitat and, in the case of the barren ground caribou, to climatic cycles which, during warm winters, led to periodic icing of the tundra, and the cutting off of the caribou from their winter food supply. However, just as frequently one encounters historical explanations; in the case of the beaver decline, the decline is believed to be due to pressure from unscrupulous trappers and traders moving in from the south, and in the case of the caribou, to the acquisition of the repeating rifle, which was introduced to the region following the establishment of rivalry between the HBC and the Revillon Frères Company, starting in 1903.

I will not enter this debate, since my purpose is to study the effects, rather than the causes, of these changes. Prior to the caribou decline, Low described the westernmost herd, which was the first herd for which the drop in numbers was noted, as occupying the barren lands north of Richmond Gulf during the summer, and migrating south into the forest during the winter. According to both Turner and Low, this herd declined towards the end of the 19th century. The reduced herd remained north of Great Whale River, and those members of the bands further south which were dependent on the caribou (i.e. inlanders) moved further inland. In 1890 Turner (1890.182) described these migrants as "dwelling near with the Naskapi", using the term Naskapi to refer to the Indians who that time traded at Fort Chimo. Low (1896) states that by 1897 the "Indians who formerly relied on the westernmost herd" (i.e. inlanders of the Great Whale and Fort George bands) moved to the Fort Chimo area and began to subsist on the herd that wintered in that area. However,

it seems unlikely that this shift to Fort Chimo involved a large number of people, judging from the population figures for the Fort Chimo Indians assembled recently by Cooke (1976.51). These figures show a series of population declines in the Fort Chimo group between 1856 and 1896, due to starvation, with a particularly rapid decline between 1886 and 1892. The area inland from Fort Chimo was not particularly hospitable at that time, although the main cause of the starvations appears to have been the fact that the HBC had difficulties in obtaining supplies, rather than any particular shortage of game in the region, at least until this century.

It seems probable, then, that most of the coastal Indians of James Bay and Hudson's Bay as well as the majority of the inlanders, were forced either to do without caribou and adopt a more intensively coaster adaptation, or to undertake long journeys inland. A second major decline in the 'western' herd took place with the low point about 1925. We now have oral evidence from the present Great Whale and Fort George Indians that the same kind of shift inland did, in fact, occur at this later period, starting around 1915. However, this movement into the Caniapiskau Lake region, and into the region between Lac Bienville and the lower Caniapiskau River, involved only about four Great Whale families actually changing their band affiliation to Fort Chimo (Cooke 1976). In addition, about six or eight individuals or families from the Fort George band, and three or four families from the Indians who gathered at Great Whale River and places further north moved their hunting and trapping further inland. A major factor, in the case of this shift, was the opening of Fort McKenzie in 1916.

The Great Whale and Fort George inlanders used Fort McKenzie as a resupply post during mid-winter, since it was more convenient to their new hunting areas than returning to the coast. But each summer they continued to return to Fort George or Great Whale River.

However, the bulk of the Indians of the East Coast of James Bay were forced to stay and face the decline in caribou. The woodland caribou, which spent the whole year in the forest in small groups, had already been practically exterminated by 1897 (Low 1896.318). Thus the Indians had to turn to other subsistence foods, or increase their trapping effort in order to be able to purchase more store food. In either case additional pressure was put during the winter on small mammals and game birds.

The overall effect of caribou shortages was to cause a shift towards other resources, and prime among which would have been the beaver, since it provides both an important subsistence meat supply, and a source of cash for the purchase of imported food. According to informants, beaver was also used as hides for moccasins and other essential items when caribou were not available. This added pressure may well have contributed to the subsequent decline in the beaver population. Whatever the cause, the shortage of

beaver was less prolonged than the caribou shortage. It began in the late 1920s and by the 1950s the beaver population had recovered, while the caribou, whose decline began earlier, did not recover until the 1960s.

This review of the major subsistence dynamics has been over-simplified, and does not deal with several other species which also declined. For example, moose were entering the area of the east coast of James Bay at the end of the last century, but their spread northward seems to have been halted for many years. It was not until quite recently that they have been killed in any numbers in Fort George River area, although they were first sighted there in the 1920s. Moreover, informants at Mistassini, Fort George and Great Whale River say that the starvation period, which lasted roughly between 1925 and 1940, depending on the specific location, involved not only caribou and beaver shortages, but shortages of almost all game animals. What we wish to turn to now is how the hunting and trapping strategies were altered by the starvation, and what effects this had on other levels of the social organization of the Indians.

Looking at the peninsula as a whole again for the moment, what is perhaps remarkable about this starvation period is the expansion in activities which were taking place within the fur trade. By the second half of the 19th century the HBC had finally managed to establish a virtual monopoly over the fur trade concessions within the whole peninsula. By 1894 Low (1896.41) noted that the number of trading posts in the interior of Québec-Labrador had been reduced to only three, Waswanipi, Mistassini and Nichicun, whereas in 1857 there had been seven. Given the game shortages that followed, one would perhaps have expected a further decline in the interior fur trade, and thus a continued depopulation of the interior. However, instead we find that there was an opening up of new trading posts, most of them at first on the coast, in competition with the HBC, but later several in the interior.

In 1903 Revillon Frères opened posts on all coasts of the pensula, except for the gulf of St. Lawrence; specifically, posts opened at Rupert House, Eastmain, and Fort George on James Bay, Fort Chimo on Ungava Bay, and North West River on the Atlantic. They presumably did not open posts on the other Québec-Labrador coast, the St. Lawrence, because there was already rivalry there between the HBC and other traders. Rival fur buyers have continued to operate at Sept Iles through much of the present century. The HBC--Revillon Frères rivalry extended to the Inuit areas of Northern Québec, and by 1920 Revillon Frères opened a post at Great Whale River, attracting both Indian and Inuit customers. The HBC was also facing further competition on the eastern side of the peninsula. Referring only to the southern part of that coast, the New York firm of Porters opened a post at North West River between 1912 and 1915.

As Denton has recently pointed out, it was the

competition on the coast, and the threats of Revillon Frères to open a post in the interior that pushed the HBC into opening Kanuaapscow Post in 1921 (Denton 1977), and the same argument may well apply to the opening of Fort McKenzie in 1916. A factor in both cases was the depletion of game, especially in the regions close to the coastal posts, and the reaction to this depletion by a movement further inland by the Indians. This involved both inlanders of the James Bay bands moving into the barren lands of the northern interior, and of coasters moving inland. As we have said, not all the inlanders who moved their hunting activities to the barrens changed their band affiliation to the Fort Chimo (this band later became the Fort McKenzie band), although many of them did. Others merely started to hunt and trap further inland than before, but returned each summer to James Bay. In the case of the coasters at Fort George and Great Whale River, we are aware of several individuals who changed their affiliations permanently, through marriage. Usually one marriage between a coaster and an inlander took place, following which the siblings would join the inland group and further marriages would take place. In at least one instance the parents of the coasters who married inland people then started to hunt inland themselves, changing their own affiliation. There may, in addition have been cases of temporary change in affiliation, lasting only for the starvation period.

The question arises as to whether the HBC encouraged the Indians to move inland or vice versa. There is some evidence for the proposition that Indians first moved inland, and then put pressure on the HBC to set up posts inland for their use (particularly for winter emergency supplies), but it is also the case that the HBC subsequently put pressure on other coasters to also move inland, and on inlanders to move even further inland, once these posts had been opened. A former coaster told me that as late as the 1930s the HBC were encouraging coasters to move inland, telling them that furs were more plentiful there.

The present-day inlanders say that during the starvation period the James Bay coastal strip, about 50-80 miles in width, was completely empty of wildlife, except for fish and migratory birds. However, the coastal region also had fewer lakes for fishing than further inland. The folk model of the coastal/inland contrast which was held by inlanders was one in which coasters were typically dependent on rabbits for meat and clothing, while the inlanders depended on caribou for these same items. The types of clothing typical of the two groups (rabbitskin vs caribou-skin) marked this contrast. The decline of the caribou in the Lac Bienville--Seal Lakes region resulted in shortages for the inlanders who were only going 100 to 150 miles inland, but at that time caribou could still be killed further inland, in the Caniapiscau Lake region and further north. As the caribou continued to decline, there was also a shift to a strong dependence on fish from these far

inland areas, and to certain furs, which at first remained plentiful inland after the decline in furbearers closer to the coast. These inland furbearers included marten, otter and mink. Caribou continued to decline in the interior, and small game became critical for the total food supply. Fish, rabbits, partridge, and porcupine were the main food sources. One informant said that even bear became impossible to find, and this was considered very unusual, as the bear was said to be an animal that would occasionally be killed even during general shortages.

There is some evidence that as the furs declined the HBC reacted by instituting economies. Thus in 1919 Nichicun post was moved to the more easily resupplied location of Neoskweskau, on the Eastmain River. However, an additional reason for this closing may have been that two other posts had recently opened in the inland area, Kanuaapscow and Fort McKenzie, and this move signaled an attempt to have all the far inland group gather at either Fort McKenzie or closer to James Bay. It will be noted that the basic divisions of the Indians, as outlined earlier in this paper by the model, were only marginally altered by the closing of Nichicun. Thus, those Nichicun hunters who hunted north and east of the post did switch to Fort McKenzie for their mid-winter resupply, but for the annual resupply they remained oriented either towards James Bay, or to the St. Lawrence posts. Most of the Nichicun group remained together as a post band, and simply shifted their trade from Nichicun to Neoskweskau.

Of even greater interest is the reorganization which took place when the Revillon Frères Company was finally taken over by the HBC in 1936. Despite the fact that this take-over took place at close to the low point of both the beaver and the caribou populations in the peninsula, as well as a low point in fur prices, the HBC, faced with renewed competition for the small amount of trade available reacted by expansion inland. In this case the competition came from independent traders, most of them ex-Revillon Frères traders, some of whom were using aircraft, which had just been introduced to the region. Most of these free traders opened stores along James Bay, at Fort George, Cape Jones, Roggan River and Old Factory, as well as at Richmond Gulf. The River Roggan, north of Fort George, was a route inland used by a particular group of Indians who hunted in the vicinity of Kanuaapscow Post, so that this post was probably opened to meet this group. Another trader began using aircraft to reach far inland places to meet trappers in their own camps, and this forced the HBC to reopen Nichicun in 1937. The post remained open as a manned outpost until 1953, and still remains to this day an unmanned supply post. At the same time a former HBC manager at Neoskweskau opened a post at Mistassini in competition with the HBC, and began making visits by dog team to the camps of Indians in the bush, including those in the Nichicun area.

These new posts did not do a large volume of business,

but their operating costs were low, since they had no large investments in buildings and large stocks. Their operations were made possible by the use of aircraft. Indian requirements at this period were limited, because of the game and fur animal shortages, to a few non-durables: ammunition, clothing, tea, tobacco, and small quantities of flour and lard. During this period a small flour ration was issued through the HBC by the government.

Although this paper is an examination of the situation of the Fort George, Great Whale and Nichicun inlanders, it is important to note that this limited movement inland, with the opening up of small inland posts by individual competitors of the HBC, was also taking place in the area inland from the Gulf of St. Lawrence during the same period i.e., 1930 to 1960. It is to be noted that an Inland Indian with affiliations to both the Sept Iles and the North West River bands, Matthew André, operated a store in the vicinity of Lac Atikonak, north of Mingan, from about 1933 to 1939. There is also a reference to a store run by George Jordain in the same area, although this man may well have been a partner of Matthew André (Mistokoshu 1977.53). A post was also in operation at Lac Opiscoteo, southeast of Lake Kaniapiskau, between 1938 to 1940, and again from about 1950 to 1962. These posts were probably supplied by aircraft from Sept Iles. It should also be noted that competitive bidding for fur remained in effect at Sept Iles throughout this period. In 1954 the HBC opened a store at the new mining town of Scheferville, primarily as a retail outlet, but with some fur trade facilities.

In summary, throughout the period of severe shortage of fur and big game resources a large number of Indians did not abandon hunting and trapping, but rather extended their activities over a wider area than previously. This was done primarily by a general movement into the interior lands of the upper drainages of rivers flowing into James Bay and Hudson Bay, into Ungava Bay and into the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The availability of this tactic of hunters scattering more widely during times of game shortage depends on the fact that this central part of the peninsula was relatively under-utilized at the start of this century.

One reason for this initial condition of under utilization of the central part of the peninsula may have been that there had been a depopulation of the central region in the previous century. Cooke's figures referred to earlier indicate a drastic drop in the population of the Fort Chimo band for the 19th century; this may have been largely due to starvation, as he suggests, but there is also indications of some shifts of personnel from the Fort Chimo band to the Great Whale band at this time. The closing of inland posts such as Petitisikapau, Michikamau, Winokapau and Sandy Banks in the mid-19th century also appears to have led to shifts of St. Lawrence inlanders to post bands with headquarters at the coast. Later, as conditions in the ecosystem of hunting became more severe

in the early 20th century a decision was forced on many Indians: either exploit more territory, or leave the hunting-trapping economy entirely. At Lac St. Jean and on the Gulf of St. Lawrence many Indians were able to leave trapping for other occupations, but in the James Bay, Hudson Bay, Ungava and Atlantic regions such an alternative was not available. Thus we find instead a movement further inland than previously during the winter, with some inlanders of the forest region moving into the interior barrens, leaving the remaining inlanders to cover larger forest areas, as well as admitting new ex-coasters into the area, most of whom changed their affiliation through marriage, and permanently became inlanders. In many cases these movements inland precede the movement inland of new, low-capital outposts, established both by the HBC and by free traders. Thus in a period of low production of fur the requirement of trade as an integral, if small, part of the total hunting and trapping mode of production led to a re-expansion of trade facilities.

Salisbury (1976), when referring to the general East Cree area, has recently suggested that two changes in economic emphasis took place. First, following the Revillon Frères competition, there was a move towards trapping for cash, which led to a collapse of the beaver population in the late 1920s, and this was followed by a move to hunting for subsistence. What our data on the expansion of interior trade facilities after 1930 incidate is that even with an added emphasis on subsistence, even in a period of low prices and fur shortage, some trade was a sine qua non for any successful occupation of the interior. My own informants who at that time moved further inland, to areas like the Kaniapiskau region, mentioned the relative availability of fine furs in these more inland areas (e.g., otter, marten and mink) just as often as they spoke of fish, waterfowl and the very occasional caribou, as their motive for the shift. Rather than giving up trapping in favour of subsistence, they adopted a new combination of the two, based on a new balance of fur and food resources.

What then was the change they underwent by this move inland, if it was not a shift from a market-oriented production to a subsistence production? We have already noted that for some it involved an actual change in social group, from a forest Indian to a Barren land Indian. But for many who did not shift their band membership we can still note a shift in their socio-economic pattern. Moreover, the shift from the earlier inlander pattern to the new 'inland shortage' pattern is very similar in outline to the difference between the basic forest and the barren land economic patterns. For example, the barrens adaptation involves potentially fairly large hunting groups (6 or 8 families, approximately) which, however, do not hunt together all winter, but frequently tend to break up in smaller divisions, often down to single families, during the part of the winter when large concentrations of game

are not available. When the game is found in a concentrated herd, as the caribou are at certain times of the year, as well as fish and waterfowl, then the group can reassemble, and communal dwelling and communal feasting can emerge until the game has dispersed again and the accumulated store of food is consumed. During the starvation period the inland forest pattern of production shifted to employ many of these characteristics, particularly for families containing a significant number of dependents. The most dependable resource was fish, even though it could be caught through the winter only in small quantities. Groups divided up into family units so that each had its own fishing location, which usually meant its own lake. Women, children and old people fished, while the active men scoured the countryside around for game. Several families camped close enough together so that one family could send messages or walk to the other, and could distribute small amounts of food in emergencies, as well as reassemble for feasting in the event that one of them was lucky enough to make a major kill.

The same pattern of a fairly large, loosely defined hunting group, which only met very occasionally for emergencies, for seasonal activities like fall fishing at spawning places and hunting waterfowl in spring, as well as for sharing the occasional kill, was also employed by the groups who moved even further inland, to the larger lakes such as Bienville, Kaniapiskau and Delorme. However, these families did not settle on one location, but moved every few days. Each camping place was selected with regard to fishing potential, but this technique also maximized the chance of running across one of the wandering or widely scattered game animals. For instance, I was told by one man that rabbits were so scarce that after a few days you would have killed all you possibly could within a radius of the camp, and it was necessary to move on in order to catch more. However, this mobile, single-family tactic depended on the family having few old people or children to slow its progress. Moreover, if it was conducted in a loose association with a number of families, whose paths would cross once in a while, its operations were incompatible with the hunting territory system. Within the inland forest area there is some indication that the above two strategies (i.e. (1) main camp on fishing lake, within walking distance of others, and (2) continual movement of families to new camps, relying on chance meetings with others, as well as contacts via messages) were used together. One man told me his group's main camp was on a fishing lake, with the site selected for fish, ptarmigan and firewood. At the same time other families in the group split up and moved continuously from lake to lake, returning to the main camp in late winter, from where they would all move to a spring fish and waterfowl location. All of these strategies follow the same basic form, which we have outlined as typical of the Barren land adaptation: a large group which spends most of the winter scattered in single family units,

but which assembles as specific seasons when there are game concentrations, or where a chance kill allows the group to reassemble for as long as the supply of food lasts.

The effects of the period of shortage on the coasters has not yet been investigated; we have referred to the move of some coasters to become inlanders. This move apparently reversed an earlier trend, since Morantz (1977) has recently shown that in the early 19th century the coasters made up only about two-fifths of the Fort George Band, whereas Desy (1968) reports them in this century to include over two-thirds of the band. We might in future look at the possibility that the shortage forced the coasters to intensify their relation to the HBC, by becoming in certain seasons fur trappers dependent on store food. An alternate possibility is that they relied for subsistence more on the animals which were less affected by the decline, i.e., the fish and the geese, and thus turned more towards a mixed economy, in which subsistence played a greater role than before. However, it is to be noted that in all variations of strategies of adaptation within the fur trade context, as long as families accompany the hunters, it is never possible to do without both subsistence food and market production. Store food at best can only supply a portion of food requirements, because of problems of transporting the food to the camp, and on the other hand imported supplies are absolutely necessary. Reduced to its bare necessities, the balance between these aspects of the fur trade economy remains as an irreducible core.

Moreover, while it is possible during times when the game and fur animals are plentiful for the economy of fur production to operate on the basis of only one annual migration to the trading post, when subsistence production drops a single annual resupply means that the lag between production and exchange becomes too long a delay. A faster turnover between fur production and conversion into market goods is required. In the classical fur trade situation both the fur trade company and the trapper supplies the other with 'credit'. The fur trader equips the trapper with supplies before the latter goes into the bush, and receives his return a year later. But at the same time the Indian starts trapping at the beginning of the winter, and carries the skins, which are of no use to him during this time, and moreover are a burden, for the rest of the winter, adding to this load as he accumulates more. This burden of accumulated furs are 'saved', and only achieve their purpose of paying back the trapper's debt long after they have been caught, although the trapper got no use, only inconvenience, out of them in the meanwhile. Thus, the delay in the exchange of furs for supplies must be 'paid' for by both the trapper and the trader. We find that when this economic system is threatened by ecological limitations, moves are made on both sides to eliminate part of what we may call this 'carrying cost', and to institute a system of short-term 'debts'. Thus, for both parties facing difficult

times the mid-winter resupply enables both of them to survive in a situation of lower production. Moreover, this institution of mid-winter resupply is the one feature of the shifts which we have examined, caused by the starvation period, which appears to have become irreversible.

In this study we have seen that changes in the economic strategies in a particular local area, the inland trade hinterland of the James Bay post of Fort George, can be understood in a wider geographic context by taking into account existing regional variations. These regional variants, based on ecological distinctions such as boreal forest/barren lands, and coastal/inland, are realized as groups that express the social recognition to the ecological contrasts.

One of the aspects of this social distinction between groups is a difference between the relative dominance of the market sector of the economy. There appears to have been, in the case of the inlanders, a far more equal balance of power between the Indians and the traders than is usually assumed. This was not because Indians were able to dispense with the market sector of their economy, but that the conditions for market production were determined by overall hunting strategies, within the context of which subsistence was dominant. The movements inland, the dispursal into smaller groups, and the increased movement during the winter season caused the traders to adapt to the needs of the Indians, to expand their activities inland, despite the decreasing volume of trade, and to facilitate the new pattern of mid-winter resupply.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Field work among the Nichicun, Fort George and Great Whale River groups was conducted in 1977 as part of research on the ethnoarchaeology in the area to be flooded by the James Bay Project. Grateful recognition is given for the financial support of the Sérvice d'Archeologie et d'Ethnologie, Ministère des Affaires Culturelles, Québec, for the information and hospitality given by numerous individuals in the above communities, and for the help and criticisms of James Chism, Sandy Chism, David Denton and Charles Martijn.

Algonquin and Other Ojibwa Dialects: a Preliminary Report*

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It is generally maintained that the dialect (or, more correctly, the group of dialects) known traditionally as Algonquin is part of an extensive complex of dialects referred to as Ojibwa. Ojibwa is itself a traditional name for regional variants spoken in Ontario, other local names being Saulteaux, Chippewa and Odawa (Ottawa). In recognition of the dialect differences, linguists have proposed broad classification of the dialects into western and eastern groups, with further sub-classification of the western group into northwestern, western and southwestern dialects. Recently, Rhodes (1976) has proposed that within the eastern group, once assumed to be represented, for example, by the dialect described in Bloomfield (1957) and by the Odawa dialect of Manitoulin Island (Kaye, et al. 1971; Piggott and Kaye 1973), at least two dialects must be distinguished. He would regard both Odawa and Bloomfield's Eastern Ojibwa as constituting a central dialect. This dialect is considered to be separated from an eastern dialect by a line running through the Bruce peninsula in Ontario. Thus, according to Rhodes' classification, Algonquin, which is spoken in Québec and eastern Ontario, would either be representative of the eastern dialect or constitute a distinct sub-group within a non-homogenous eastern dialect area.

It should be pointed out that, in general, proposed classifications of Ojibwa dialects are not based on a rigorous comparative study. Much is known about the general properties of Ojibwa and studies of various dialects have been pursued. However, no detailed comparison of the dialects has been attempted. Hence, the proposed classifications must still be regarded as tentative. Rhodes' sketch of the differences between certain dialects is thus a welcomed contribution to our understanding of sub-groups of Ojibwa dialects.

Now, as dialectologists are well aware, it is rarely, if ever, possible to identify dialect boundaries with discrete divisions on a map. Geographical location alone is not a sufficient criterion for classifying a speech community as belonging to one dialect rather than another. Therefore, one cannot assume that since Algonquin is spoken east of Rhodes' line it must belong to his linguistic sub-group, the eastern dialect of Ojibwa. In order to establish the relationship between Algonquin and other Ojibwa dialects, it is obviously necessary to carry out a careful investigation of varieties of Algonquin. Such a study would indicate whether there are innovations shared by Algonquin and Rhodes' eastern dialect or any other Ojibwa dialect(s). Furthermore, we would be in a position to determine what features (if any) are the defining properties of Algonquin and to specify exactly how varieties of Algonquin differ.

This preliminary report represents the tentative findings of the initial phase of such a study. Emphasis is not so much on those features which Algonquin shares with other dialects, but on the ways in which it differs from some other Ojibwa dialects. The evidence reveals that Algonquin differs in significant ways from both Rhodes' eastern dialect and his central dialect (e.g. Odawa and Bloomfield's Eastern Ojibwa). From our findings, it is also apparent that the traditional name, Algonquin, refers to a complex of dialects.

We are reporting here mainly on recent work on Algonquin spoken in three communities which are all located in north-western Québec. The three communities are Kipawa, Winneway River and Rapide-Sept. We will occasionally refer to these varieties of Algonquin as dialect-K (Kipawa), dialect-W (Winneway River) and dialect-R (Rapide-Sept). Where relevant, references will be made to data from work done by others in other communities and to the description of Algonquin by l'Abbé Cuoq (1891-92). We will now proceed to outline some of the salient phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical differences between the Algonquin dialects and other Ojibwa dialects and, at times, draw attention to some differences within the Algonquin dialect-complex itself. In citing data, we will occasionally refer to any non-Algonquin form as Ojibwa.

Phonological. The phonological differences (and illustrative data) identified below include innovations which should properly be regarded as phonological restructuring of lexical forms. It would thus be more appropriate to regard these as lexical differences. However, because it is normal for some phonological changes to produce changes in lexical representations, we will include such processes in this section on phonological differences rather than in the section on lexical differences.

(a) The Algonquin dialects identified above manifest a process deleting (or reducing) unstressed lax (i.e. short) vowels. A similar process is characteristic of those Ojibwa dialects identified as central and eastern. For example, a form such as wīsini 'he eats/is eating', which manifests all the vowels in western dialects, would undergo the vowel deletion process in both Algonquin and Odawa and be realized roughly as wīsni.[1] The second vowel, which would be unstressed, would drop. However, even though stress placement and vowel deletion have not been fully determined for the Algonquin dialects, at least one difference between these dialects and the central and eastern dialects has been noticed. In central dialects such as Odawa, word-initial lax vowels are always unstressed and subject to deletion (or reduction), but in Algonquin such vowels are never deleted (or reduced), as is illustrated in the data below.

(1)	Algonquin	Odawa	
	animoš	nimoš	'dog'
	animšak	nimšak	'dogs'

Algonquin	Odawa	
ininī	ninī	'man'
ikwē	kwē	'woman'
opinī	pin	'potato'
odam(i)no	dam(i)no	'he plays'[2]

Not only are these initial vowels not subject to deletion, but the back vowels o and a may optionally undergo a process of tensing (or lengthening) in both dialects W and R. This optional rule is formulated as follows:

(2) $V \rightarrow [+\text{tense}] / \#\# __$
$[+\text{back}]$

This rule accounts for the occurrence of forms such as those in (3), each of which begins with a vowel which is either deleted or appears as non-tensed in other Ojibwa dialects.

(3)	āgimək	'count them!'
	ānimoš	'dog'
	ōǰīk	'fisher'
	ōpinī	'potato'

A similar process of initial vowel tensing has been noticed in the Maniwaki and Lac Simon dialects of Algonquin, where it appears to be obligatory. In Lac Simon, however, a more general process than (2) seems to be operative. In this dialect all initial lax vowels are subject to tensing and forms such as those in (1) would all appear with tense initial vowels.

(b) There is a process of assimilation and/or coalescence which affects a sequence of bilabial stop plus bilabial nasal. These sequences always arise through the deletion of unstressed lax vowels. The process produces a simple nasal m from a sequence such as bm.[3] From the available evidence, this process seems to occur primarily in Algonquin dialects. Consider, as illustrations, the following forms.

	Algonquin	Ojibwa	
(4)	mosē	bimosē/bmosē	'he walks'
	mib(i)zo	bimibizo/bmib(i)zo	'he moves along'
	kīmiptō	gībimibatō/gībmiptō	'he ra

Notice that the last example in (4) shows a process of regressive voicing assimilation by which underlying voiced stops become voiceless under the influence of a following voiceless stop. As is noted in Rhodes (1976), the same process occurs in the central Ojibwa dialect (e.g. Odawa). The context for the application of this rule of voicing assimilation is created by the operation of vowel syncope. It is of interest to note that in Algonquin, as in Odawa, voicing assimilation will apply even when the intervening vowel is reduced rather than deleted. Thus, in Algonquin, a variant of the form meaning 'he ran' is kīmipətō, derived from gī-bimibatō.

(c) The Winneway River dialect has a rule which simplifies nasal-initial clusters.[5] This rule takes the following form.

(5) $C_{[+nasal]} \rightarrow \emptyset \; / \; __ \; [-son]$

As a phonological innovation, this rule has produced several cases of phonological restructuring. For example, stems such as ān̄di 'where', mindido 'be big', wābang 'tomorrow' and māngw 'loon' have been restructured in dialect-W as ādi, midido, wābag and māgw, respectively. In dialects which do not have this rule, the actual phonetic forms for 'tomorrow' and 'a loon' would be wābaŋ and māŋ, respectively. It is well recognized, however, that a final velar nasal in Ojibwa is derived from a sequence of velar nasal plus voiced velar stop through the deletion of the final velar stop. Additional examples illustrating the operation of the process simplifying nasal-initial clusters are cited below.

(6)	Dialect-W	Odawa	
	n(i)niǰi	n(i)ninč	'my hand'
	māgok	māŋgok	'loons'
	tagošin	dagošin	'he arrives'
	tagošik	dagošiŋ	'(that) he arrives'
	owāb(a)mān	wāb(a)mān	'he sees him'
	owāb(a)dān	wāb(a)ndān	'he sees it'

The process deleting nasals in clusters is also reported for the Lac Simon dialect. However, the occurrence of this rule does not appear to be a defining feature of Algonquin. It does not occur in the Kipawa dialect, nor is it a general feature of the Rapide-Sept dialect which is geographically very close to Winneway River. One form, midido 'he is big', showing the results of the operation of nasal-deletion, was attested in dialect-R, but this could be attributed to the influence of the adjacent dialect-W. The Maniwaki dialect which is spoken further to the south also does not exhibit this phonological trait.

(d) Some of the Algonquin dialects we have studied show another phonological feature which accounts for additional differences between these dialects and other Ojibwa dialects. This process is stated formally as in (7).

(7) $w \rightarrow \emptyset \; / \; C \; __ \; \bar{a}$[6]

Rule (7) applies in both the Winneway River and Rapide-Sept dialects. It is also reported as a feature of the Lac Simon dialect, but it is clearly not characteristic of all the dialects considered to be Algonquin. For example, it is not attested in Kipawa nor in the southern dialect, Maniwaki. Like the rule of nasal-deletion, the process of w-deletion produces several cases of lexical restructuring in Algonquin, of which the first two forms given below are examples.

(8)	Algonquin	Ojibwa	
	sagasā	zagaswā	'he smokes'
	opāgan	(o)pwāgan	'a pipe'
	ŋgībāškizā	ŋgībāškizwā	'I shot him'
	ŋgīamā	ŋgīamwā	'I ate it'
	ŋgīgīškižā	ŋgīgīškižwā	'I cut it'

It can be argued that the last three Algonquian forms in (8) are still synchronically derived from verb stems ending in w (i.e. bāškizw-, amw- and gīškižw-, respectively). If one assumes that these are the underlying forms of the stems, one can readily account for the vowel in the final syllable of the forms in (9).

(9)		
	nwībāškizok	'he is going to shoot me'
	nwīamok	'he is going to eat me'
	nwīgīškižok	'he is going to cut me'

The vowel o would result from a coalescence of a sequence w + i, since it can be established that the vowel of the suffix following the stem is i (cf. ŋgīwāb(a)mik 'he saw me' - stem: wābam).

Even though it is clear that a process such as w-deletion is operative in both the Winneway River and Rapide-Sept dialects, there are still instances of post-consonantal w before ā in surface phonetic representations. An example of such a form in the Rapide-Sept dialect is ŋgīnōndwā 'I heard him'. It is clear, however, that in this case the sequence Cwā results from the deletion of an unstressed lax vowel, since the verb stem is nōndaw- 'hear'. The occurrence of such surface sequences entails that the rule of w-deletion must apply before the rule of syncope that deletes unstressed lax vowels. The relatively late application of the process of syncope is characteristic of all Ojibwa dialects which have such a rule.

(e) In citing Algonquin forms so far, final obstruents are invariably represented as voiceless. In several cases, corresponding forms in (some) other Ojibwa dialects (excluding the central dialect) would end in voiced (or lenis) obstruents. The comparison is shown in the following forms.

(10)	Algonquin	Ojibwa	
	ojīk	ojīg	'fisher'
	šīšīp	žīšīb	'duck'
	kāk	qāg	'porcupine'
	šigāk	žigāg	'skunk'
	m(i)tik	mitig	'tree'
	anim(o)šak	animošag	'dogs'
	wābōs	wābōz	'rabbit'
	sīs(i)bāko-	zīsibākod	'sugar'

Furthermore, when those Algonquin forms of (10) which can take a suffix do so, the consonant which is no longer word-final appears as a voiced one. Notice the following obviative forms of the nouns.

(11)	oǰīgon	'fisher'
	šīšīban	'duck'
	kāgon	'procupine'
	šigāgon	'skunk'
	m(i)tigon	'tree'
	wābōzon	'rabbit'

Given such alternations and the fact that the consonants involved are historically voiced (or lenis), it would be concluded that the Algonquin dialects have innovated the following rule of word-finial devoicing.

(12) [-son] → [-voice] / __ ##

A similar rule is postulated for both Eastern Ojibwa and Odawa (Rhodes' central dialect).

A few cautionary comments about the status and distribution of rule (12) in Algonquin dialects are called for. First, it appears to be an optional rule in the Kipawa, Winneway River and Rapide-Sept dialects. Variants such as šīšīp/šīšīb, kāk/kāg and šigāk/šigāg occur in all three dialects. Secondly, it is not manifested in our data or any other available data on the Maniwaki dialect. Of the dialects which have been mentioned in this report, only Lac Simon seems to have an obligatory rule of word-final devoicing.

(f) The data cited so far also provides evidence for another rule of devoicing which appears to be characteristic of all Algonquin dialects. This is a rule of word-initial devoicing of obstruents.

(13) [-son] → [-voice] / ## __

Some of the forms cited in (6), (8) and (10) show that this process would account for further differences between Algonquin and other Ojibwa dialects. Additional Algonquin data in (14) below also provide evidence for the synchronic status of rule (13).

(14)	šīšīp	'duck'
	nžīšīb(i)mak	'my ducks'
	kāk	'porcupine'
	ŋgāgom	'my porcupine'
	sagasā	'he smokes'
	nzagasā	'I smoke'
	tagošin	'he arrives'
	ndagošin	'I arrive'
	čīmān	'boat'
	oǰīmān	'his boat'

Unlike rule (12), the rule of word-initial devoicing (13) appears to be obligatory for all the Algonquin dialects and, as far as we are aware, it seems to be restricted to these dialects of Ojibwa.

(g) Another difference between Algonquin and other

Ojibwa dialects results not from an obvious innovation of a rule in Algonquin but from the apparent loss of a rule (or part of a rule). Bloomfield (1946) reconstructs for Proto-Algonquian a process of coalescence by which the sequence *awe became ā before certain consonants including velar stops, and ō before ancestral *θ. Since the reflex of *θ and *e are n and i, respectively, in all Ojibwa dialects, one would expect to find the coalescence occurring as awi > ā before g/k and ō before n (< *θ). This is the situation in Odawa as well as in several other Ojibwa dialects. The following Odawa forms are based on the verb stems wābam- 'see someone' and nōndaw- 'hear someone'.

(15) g(i)wāb(a)mā 'you see him'
g(i)wābam 'you see me'
g(i)wāb(a)mik 'he sees you'
g(i)wāb(a)min 'I see you'

(16) g(i)nōnd(a)wā 'you hear him'
g(i)nōndaw 'you hear me'
g(i)nōndāk 'he hears you'
g(i)nōndōn 'I hear you'

The last two forms of (16) show the results of the coalescence. Historically, the suffixes are derived from Proto-Algonquian *-ekw and *eθe, respectively.

Both the Winneway River and Rapide-Sept dialects show the coalescence of awi as ā before velar stops. However, the process no longer applies before the reflex of *θ. For these dialects the paradigm which corresponds to (16) is as follows (some irrelevant phonetic details are omitted).

(17) kinō(n)dawā 'you hear him'
kinō(n)dawižinan 'you hear me'
kinō(n)dāk 'he hears you'
kinō(n)dawin 'I hear you'

(We have parenthesized the segment n to indicate that it would not occur in the Winneway River dialect, which has the rule of n-deletion.) The relevant data for other dialects is lacking, at present, and thus we are unable to determine whether this feature of non-coalescence extends beyond the two dialects mentioned above.

(h) A very important innovation in the Algonquin dialects is reflected primarily (but not exclusively) in the 1st and 2nd person forms of certain animate-intransitive (AI) verbs. Compare the Ojibwa forms in (18) and (19) with the corresponding Algonquin forms in (20) and (21).

(18) nīmi- (STEM)
ninīm 'I dance'
ginīm 'you dance'
ninīmimin 'we dance'

(19) nagamo- (STEM)

	ninagam	'I sing'
	ginagam	'you sing'
	ninagamomin	'we sing'
(20)	nīmi-	(STEM)
	ninīminan	
	kinīminan	
	ninīmimin	
(21)	nigamo-	(STEM)
	ninigamonan	
	kinigamonan	
	ninigamomin	

Comparison of the above data shows that Algonquin forms have an ending -nan in the first and second person singular forms where other Ojibwa dialects delete the stem-final (and word-final) vowel. Initially, there is a temptation to regard the occurrence of the ending -nan as a morphological innovation in Algonquin. In this view, nan would be seen as a suffix, marking first and second person singular.

However, there appear to be strong reasons why the attachment of nan in Algonquin should be considered a phonological rather than a morphological innovation. Let us consider the conditions under which the endings occur. First, it is never attested if the verb stem ends in a tense vowel, as is shown by the forms in (22), (23) and (24).

(22)	bimosē-	(STEM)
	nbimosē	'I walk'
	kibimosē	'you walk'
(23)	nibā-	(STEM)
	nnibā	'I sleep'
	kinibā	'you sleep'
(24)	žāgozī-	(STEM)
	nžāgozī	'I am weak'
	kižāgozī	'you are weak'

Secondly, it does not occur if the verb stem ends in a consonant,[7] e.g.

(25)	dagošin-	(STEM)
	ndagošin	'I arrive'
	kidagošin	'you arrive'

Finally, the ending nan is found only in forms which would otherwise have a final lax vowel. This is true even of transitive verb forms. The Algonquin form in (26), in which nan is attached to the suffix -iži, clearly confirms this.

(26)	kiwābamižinan	'you see me'
	kiwābamižimin	'you see us'

From preceding data, it seems obvious that the restriction on the occurrence of nan is phonological rather than morphological.

Further evidence that the ending nan is not simply a suffix which marks first and second person singular can be found in negative forms of verbs. For all the verbs which we have discussed, negation is marked by a particle gā or gāwī (depending on the dialect) before the full verb form and a suffix -sī immediately after the stem. All suffixes that mark person or number must follow the negative suffix. Consider, now, the negative forms corresponding to the Algonquin data given in (20) and (21). (We ignore the negative particle.)

(27)	ninīmisī	'I do not dance'
	kinīmisī	'you do not dance'
	ninīmisīmin	'we do not dance'
(28)	ninigamosī	'I do not sing'
	kinigamosī	'you do not sing'
	ninigamosīmin	'we do not sing'

Notice that the ending -nan which occurs in (20) and (21) is not present in the first and second person singular forms of (27) and (28). If nan were simply an affix like -min, one would expect it to follow the negative suffix -sī as does -min. The forms in (27) and (28) are, thus, problematic for a morphological analysis of nan-attachment. On the other hand, such forms are consistent with a phonological solution to the problem. The ending nan is simply a phonological device which prevents certain lax vowels from being word-final, a position in which they would undergo deletion in other Ojibwa dialects. In the forms of (27) and (28), the occurrence of the negative suffix -sī, which ends in a tense vowel, would obviate any necessity for attaching nan.

The innovation of nan-attachment is of considerable interest. Notice that the process applies only to forms which would be subject to the rule deleting final lax vowels in all non-Algonquin dialects of Ojibwa. There is therefore a functional similarity between nan-attachment and the deletion of final lax vowels. Both rules minimize the occurrence of word-final lax vowels. Some of the implications of the Algonquin innovation for phonological theory and historical change have been discussed in a recent paper (Piggott 1978). There it is argued that the rule of nan-attachment could be regarded as a case of diachronic rule insertion.

A few comments on the distribution of the rule of nan-attachment in Algonquin dialects are necessary. It occurs in Winnewa, River, Rapide-Sept and Lac Simon. It does not occur in Maniwaki or Kipawa. Maniwaki, like other Ojibwa dialects, has the rule deleting final lax vowels. The situation in Kipawa, however, is strange.[8] Here, final lax i's are deleted but final lax o's are retained. Thus the Kipawa forms corresponding to those in (18) and (19)

were given as the following.

(29) nīmi- (STEM)
ninīm 'I dance'
kinīm 'you dance'
ninīmimin 'we dance'

(30) nigamo- (STEM)
ninigamo 'I sing'
kinigamo 'you sing'
ninigamomin 'we sing'

If we exclude Kipawa from consideration, nan-attachment might be considered to be one feature which distinguishes the northern Algonquin dialects from the southern ones, represented here by the Maniwaki dialect.

Before we leave the problem of nan-attachment in Algonquin, it might be interesting to speculate on whether the ending is likely to have arisen by analogy. Such a possibility was suggested by a prominent Algonquianist at a recent meeting. The suggestion is that there are certain Ojibwa verb forms which end in the phonological sequence nan and which could be a possible source of innovated nan in Algonquin. The relevant forms seem to be from a class of verbs which are referred to as pseudo-transitives. They are called pseudo-transitives because, even though they take objects, they do not take the endings normally associated with transitive verbs. One such verb is gimōdi- 'to steal'. A paradigm of forms based on this stem follows. Such forms occur when the object is an inanimate singular noun.

(31) nigimōdin 'I steal it'
gigimōdin 'you steal it'
ogimōdin 'he steals it'

If the object is either animate singular or inanimate plural, the relevant forms are as in (32).

(32) nigimōdinan
gigimōdinan
ogimōdinan

It is the latter set of forms that is suggested as the basis for the analogical formation of intransitive verb forms ending in nan in Algonquin.

The problem with associating innovated nan in Algonquin with the ending which occurs in (32) is that the latter is clearly determined by certain properties of the object of the verb. That such an ending would be generalized not only to intransitives such as those in (20) and (21) but also to transitive forms as in (26) seems highly unlikely. Considering the function of the ending in (32), it would still remain a mystery why this ending rather than some other ending was adopted in Algonquin. Notice, also, that, while all three forms in (32) terminate with the

sequence nan, the process of nan-attachment applies to first and second person singular forms of intransitive verbs but not to the third person singular. Compare the forms in (32) with the Algonquin forms in (33).

(33) nizēgizinan 'I am afraid'
kizēgizinan 'you are afraid'
sēgizi 'he is afraid'

In any case, considerations of analogy do not affect the basic argument that, synchronically, nan-attachment is a phonologically constrained process in certain Algonquin dialects.

(i) In this section we draw attention to a group of phonological innovations, all of which result in lexical restructuring. The first one to be discussed is quite systematic. It involves the emergence in Algonquin of singular noun forms which end in ī, where the corresponding forms in other Ojibwa dialects end in either a consonant or the lax vowel i. This difference is illustrated in the set of forms given in (34). Included in the data are plural forms which are, in most cases, the same for all the dialects. The difference in plural endings is of course determined by the class to which the noun belongs. (In these and all subsequent citations, we will not transcribe differences that arise through syncope or devoicing.)

(34)	Algonquin	Ojibwa	Plurals	
	asabī	asab	asabīg	'net'
	asinī	asin	asinīg[9]	'stone'
	opinī	opin	opinīg	'potato'
	nini(n)ǰī	ninin ǰ	nini(n)ǰīn	'my hand'
	azādī	azād[10]	azādīg	'poplar'
	ǰigobī	ǰingob	ǰingobīg	'fir tree'
	akī	aki	akīn	'land'
	abwī	abwi	abwīg[11]	'paddle'

Comparison of the Algonquin singulars and plurals reveals no apparent irregularity. It is generally recognized that the basic and productive plural endings are -ag for animate nouns and -an for inanimates, with systematic variants -g and -n, respectively, occurring after vowels. Note the patterns in (35) and (36), which are characteristic of all dialects.

(35)	Singular	Plural	
	ǰīšīb	ǰīšībag	'duck'
	animoš	animošag	'dog'
	ǰīmān	ǰīmānan	'boat'
	(o)ǰībik	(o)ǰībikan	'root'

(36)	ogimá	ogimāg	'chief'
	mēmē	mēmēg	'woodpecker'
	ōǰī	ōǰig	'fly'

Singular	Plural	
manidō	manidōg	'Manitou'
maškodē	maškodēn[12]	'prairie'

Given such patterns, the non-Algonquin forms in (34) would appear to exhibit some irregularity in the formation of the plurals.

There is, however, a historical explanation for this irregularity. All the nouns in (34) are diachronically derived from stems which end in the sequence Cy. All such stems had plural forms ending in Īg/Īn, the tense vowel resulting from a coalescenc- of y + a. With the loss of post-consonantal y, a process which occurred in all Ojibwa dialects, most of these stems would have singular forms ending in consonants, as the examples cited under Ojibwa in (34) show.[13] The basis of the innovation in Algonquin now becomes obvious. In these dialects, new singular forms ending in Ī are derived from the plurals, undoubtedly by generalizing the pattern associated with stems that end in tense vowel (e.g. ōǰī : ōǰīg). This innovation thus looks like a clear case of analogical formation.[14]

The Algonquin innovation described above applies to all the relevant forms in all dialects except Maniwaki. However, the next innovation to which we draw attention is less systematic and its distribution across dialects is not certain. The evidence which will be cited is taken from the Rapide-Sept dialect only. It shows a difference between certain animate intransitive verb stems that end in a tense vowel in Rapide-Sept but a lax vowel in central and western Ojibwa dialects. Consider the following differences.

(37)	Rapide-Sept	Ojibwa	
(a)	nimaškawizī	nimaškawiz	'I am strong'
	maškawizī	maškawizi	'he is strong'
(b)	nižāgozī	nižāgoz	'I am weak'[15]
	žāgozī	žāgozi	'he is weak'
(c)	ninīnimizī	ninīnimiz	'I am clumsy'[15]
	nīnimizī	nīnimizi	'he is clumsy'
(d)	nidānimizī	nidānimiz	'I am miserable'
	ānimizī	ānimizi	'he is miserable'

The occurrence of a final lax vowel in third person forms and its absence in first person forms is taken to be an indication that these stems end in lax vowelx in Ojibwa. This vowel has been tensed (or lengthened) in Algonquin, resulting in a restructuring of the stems.

It is clear, however, that the above restructuring is idiosyncratic and, thus, lexically governed. It affects only a small number of stems. Several other stems which historically ended in the identical lax vowel i show no restructuring. Examples follow.

(38) zēgizi 'be afraid'
dakōzi 'be short'
ginōzi 'be long/tall'
gotāǰi 'be afraid'
ayēkozi 'be tired'
nīmi 'dance'
ākozi 'be sick'

In Algonquin, the first and second person singular forms of the stems in (38) would, of course, show the ending -nan (e.g. nidakōzinan 'I am short'). As is argued before, this sequence -nan only attaches to forms that would otherwise end in lax vowels. Note that nan is not attached to the first person forms shown for Rapide-Sept in (37). Since the stems of (37) are restructured to end in tense vowels, the condition for nan-attachment would not be met. It may also be noted that all the restructured stems of (37) correspond to Ojibwa stems with the 'final' -izi. But this may simply be a coincidence. The occurrence in Algonquin of non-restructured stems such as zēgizi and ākozi shows that the restructuring is not phonologically determined by some property of the 'final' -izi.

The last case of restructuring to be considered is also idiosyncratic, and is restricted to a few nouns. These are nouns which, in non-Algonquin dialects, have singular forms ending in i but plurals in -wag, e.g. inini 'man' : ininiwag 'men', wāwāškēši 'deer' : wāwāškēšiwag 'deer'. Forms such as these are considered to be derived from basic stems ending in w (i.e. ininiw- and wāwāškēšiw-). The singular forms would show the result of the dropping of the final w. In Algonquin, however, the singular and plural forms of 'deer' are wāwāškēšī and wāwāškēšīg, respectively. Since this is the pattern characteristic of nouns that end in tense vowels (see examples in (36)), it would suggest that this stem has undergone restructuring. By comparison, what happens to the stem for 'man' (and a few others of this type) is interesting. In Rapide-Sept, the singular and plural forms of this stem are ininī and ininīg, respectively, thus indicating a restructured stem. However, in at least two other Algonquin dialects, this stem shows a different pattern - ininī : ininiwag.[16] The variation between a final tense vowel in the singular and a lax vowel plus w in the plural cannot be accounted for by general rules.

For dialects which have the latter pattern of alternation for stems such as that for 'man', one might of course propose a rule such as (39).

(39) i w #
1 2 3 ⟹ 1 ∅ 3
[+tense]

However, such a synchronic analysis raises certain problems. Rule (39) would be restricted not only to nouns but to a subset of the nouns that meet the conditions for its application. All dialects of Algonquin have forms such as

bižiw 'lynx' : bižiwaq (plural). Instead of treating the alternations which would be accounted for by rule (39) as really rule-governed, it would probably be more appropriate to assume that restructuring has produced, in such cases, two partially suppletive stems (i.e. ininī- and ininiw-), both of which would be listed.

(j) The discussion of phonological differences between Algonquin and other Ojibwa dialects will conclude with a brief look at two innovations that appear to be restricted to the Maniwaki dialect. The first of these is shown most clearly in the realization of plural forms of certain inanimate nouns derived from stems which end in n. Recall that the plural of inanimate nouns is marked by the suffix -an. In the Maniwaki dialect, when this ending is added to certain stems that end in n, the sequence nan contracts to n but the final syllable of the word carries a rising pitch. The result is that the difference between certain singular and plural forms is marked solely by a difference in pitch on the final syllable. Another interesting aspect of this phenomenon is that contraction does not always occur whenever -an is attached to an n-final stem. Consider the following forms in which the contracted plurals are marked by an asterisk (*).

(40)	Singular	Plural	
	ǰīmān	ǰīmān*	'boat'
	makizin	makizinan	'shoe'
	wābigon	wābigon*	'flower'
	mičikan	mičikanan	'fence'
	mōkomān	mōkomān*	'knife'
	miskomin	miskominan	'raspberry'
	nimakizin	nimakizin*	'my shoe'

Careful observation reveals that the contraction phenomenon is not random, but can be related to stress placement. The Maniwaki dialect seems to have two rules of stress placement identical to those posited for the Odawa dialect. One rule places stress on all tense vowels and the second is a rule of alternating stress stated as in (41).

$$(41)\quad V \rightarrow [+\text{stress}] \,/\, \overset{V}{[-\text{stress}]}\ C_0 \ __$$

Rule (41) applies to a word from left to right and would stress the second, fourth, sixth, etc. in a sequence of lax vowels. Notice, now, that contraction does not apply if the vowel of the suffix -an is in a stressed position. For example, the form for 'shoes' would be stressed as follows: makízinán. On the other hand the form for 'flowers' would have the following stress pattern - wābigónan. This form undergoes contraction as is shown in (40). Of course, whenever the vowel in the final syllable of the stem is tense, it would be stressed and, hence, the vowel of the plural suffix would be in an unstressed position. Such plurals would also undergo

contraction (e.g. jímán* 'boats' from jímán+an).

This account of the contraction phenomenon appears to be well founded. Contraction is not an idiosyncratic property of particular stems. One may note that, even though the form for 'shoes' in (40) shows no contraction, the form meaning 'my shoes' is contracted nimakizin*. Since this is derived from ni+makizin+an, the vowel of the plural suffix would not be in a stressed position (i.e. ni+mákizín+an).

The second Maniwaki pecularity is also determined by the placement of stress. It is another case of contraction, this time involving the third person plural forms of certain animate intransitive (AI) verbs. Generally, in Ojibwa the third person plural forms of AI stems that end in vowels terminate in the sequence -wag. This ending is analysed as consisting of a third person suffix -w plus a plural marker -ag. In Maniwaki, however, this sequence contracts to g in certain cases. Notice the following forms from this dialect.

(42)	nagamowag	'they sing'
	nīmiwag	'they dance'
	dakōziwag	'they are short'
	wīsinig	'they eat'
	odaminog	'they play'
	bimosēg	'they walk'

Application of the stress rules to the first three forms of (42) would show that the vowel of the plural suffix is in a stressed position. This is not the situation in the derivation of the last three forms. For example, application of the rules of stress placement to underlying odamino+w+ag would produce odáminó+w+ag. This form contracts to odaminog. It appears, then, that the process of contraction under discussion only applies when the vowel of the suffix is unstressed. One cannot fail to notice the similarity between the two contraction processes. A more detailed study of Maniwaki is necessary in order to determine whether these two processes extend beyond the types of examples used to illustrate them.

Morphological. A few morphological differences between Algonquin and certain other Ojibwa dialects have been observed. Since some of the traits to be identified as Algonquin also occur in non-Algonquin dialects, we will restrict the presentation primarily to differences between Algonquin and the central dialect, Odawa. In discussing phonological differences, it was frequently claimed that these result from Algonquin innovations. However, we will avoid making similar claims about the morphological differences. Most of the Algonquin traits could turn out to be archaisms which have been lost in Odawa.

(a) In Odawa and in several other dialects, second person plural of AI verbs is marked by a suffix -m. In Winneway River and Rapide-Sept, but not in Maniwaki, the corresponding forms have an ending -nāwā.

(43)

Algonquin	Odawa	
gizēgizināwā	gizēgizim	'you are afraid'
gidakozināwā	gidakōzim	'you are short'
ginīmināwā	ginīmim	'you dance'

This ending, -nāwā, may be a borrowing from the transitive inanimate paradigm, where forms such as gibīdōnāwā 'you bring it (inanimate)' occur (stem: bīdō-). In Maniwaki, the ending is the same as in Odawa.

(b) There are two third person suffixes that occur in conjunct forms of AI verbs. Conjunct verb forms characteristically occur in subordinate clauses. In Odawa the two suffixes are -d after vowels and -g after consonants (e.g. gīšpin nibād 'if he sleeps' and gīšpin dagošin(g) 'if he arrives'). The final g is deleted in the latter example. In all the Algonquin dialects we have investigated except Rapide-Sept, the suffix which occurs post-vocalically is ǰ instead of -d.[17]

(44)

Algonquin	Odawa	
nīmiǰ	nīmid	'he dances'
nigamoǰ	nagamod	'he sings'
ākoziǰ	ākozid	'he is sick'
gīwēǰ	gīwēd	'he goes home'
bimosēǰ	bimosēd	'he walks'

It be pointed out that, while -d is posited as the basic form of the post-vocalic suffix in Odawa, there is a variant -ǰ which occurs in this dialect before high front vowels. This can be illustrated by the following participial forms, which are derived from conjunct verb forms - nēbād 'he who sleeps' and nēbǎjig 'they who sleep'. The occurrence of the affricate ǰ in the plural participial form results from palatalization of the stop d. If it can be argued that the forms in (44) ended, historically, in a high front vowel, then the occurrence of the affricate in Algonquin can be considered an archaism.

Within Ojibwa, the occurrence of ǰ as a marker for third person in forms such as those in (44) cannot be regarded as unique to Algonquin dialects. An identical ending occurs in several northwestern Ojibwa dialects (see, for example, Todd 1970, Rogers 1963). Moreover, Rapide-Sept shows d in most cases, though there are variant forms with ǰ.

(c) Bloomfield (1957) recognizes a class of verb forms which he calls pseudo-intransitive forms. These forms are frequently related to transitive forms with an inanimate object, differing from the latter only in certain endings. Typical Odawa paradigms showing some differences between pseudo-intransitive and corresponding transitive forms are given below.

(45)

Pseudo-Intrans.	Transitive	
nibizindam	nibizindān	'I listen (to it)'
gibizindam	gibizindān	'you listen (to it)'
bizindam	obizindān	'he listens (to it)'

Pseudo-Intrans.	Transitive	
nibizindāmi(n)	nibizindānā	'we listen (to it)'
gibizindām	gibizindānāwā	'you listen (to it)'
bizindamōg	obizindānāwā	'they listen (to it)'

This comparison reveals differences in all the endings in Odawa. Similar forms to those in (45) occur in the Maniwaki dialect. On the other hand, the Winneway River and Rapide-Sept dialects have eliminated some of the differences between these two types of forms. For example, the first and second person singular forms are no longer distinguishable. The corresponding pseudo-intransitive forms in these dialects are as follows.

(46) nibizi(n)dān
gibizi(n)dān
bizi(n)dam
nibizi(n)dāmin
gibizi(n)dānāwa
bizi(n)damōg

(d) Another morphological difference between Algonquin and other Ojibwa dialects is in the suffix which marks transitive verbs as having a second person actor and first person goal. In Odawa as in several other dialects, this suffix is basically -i, which is deleted word-finally. In Algonquin, again with the exception of Maniwaki, the ending is -iži. Compare the forms in (47), based on the stem wābam 'to see'.

(47) Algonquin	Odawa	
giwābamižinan	giwābam	'you see me'
giwābamizimin	giwābamimi(n)	'you see us'

The occurrence of the sequence -nan at the end of the first Algonquin form in (47) has been accounted for in earlier discussion of phonological differences.

This ending -iži is somewhat similar to an ending which occurs in corresponding forms in the Severn and Round Lake dialects (Todd 1970; Rogers 1963). In these dialects the ending takes the form -ihši/-iši, the consonant being preaspirated in the Severn area and apparently not preaspirated in Round Lake. If the Algonquin ending is derived from a form closer to the Severn/Round Lake ending, the consonant has, idiosyncratically, undergone voicing. It should also be noted that a suffix -iši occurs in Odawa and Eastern Ojibwa (Bloomfield 1957) in imperative verb forms with a first person object/goal.

(e) In all Ojibwa dialects, every animate noun has an inflected form referred to as the 'obviative'.[18] The ending that marks 'obviation' is -an. This form occurs in certain definable contexts. For example, whenever an animate noun is 'possessed' by a third person or occurs as the object of a verb where the subject is third person, such a noun will be marked for obviation. In similar contexts, inanimate nouns are not marked for obviation in

the central and eastern dialects of Ojibwa. However, in most Algonquin dialects inanimates take an obviative ending in such contexts. The suffix is basically -ini. The following Algonquin forms show obviation on the animate noun ǯĪšīb 'duck' and the inanimate ǰīmān 'boat'.

(48) (a) niwābamā ǯĪšīb 'I see a duck'
owābamān ǯĪšīban 'he sees a duck'

(b) niwāba(n)dān ǰīmān 'I see a boat'
owāba(n)dān ǰīmānini 'he sees a boat'

Even though inanimate nouns in Odawa are not marked for obviation, an ending similar to Algonquin -ini does appear in Odawa and is correlated with the presence of an inanimate noun. Generally, in Odawa, if an animate noun 'possessed' by a third person is the subject of an intransitive verb, both the noun and the verb are marked for obviation. When an inanimate noun occurs in a similar construction, the noun itself is not marked, but the verb takes an ending -ini/-ni. Note the Odawa forms in (49).

(49) (a) niday ākozi 'my dog is sick'
odayan ākoziwan 'his dog is sick'

(b) niǰīmān ǰāgidē 'my boat is on fire'
oǰīmān ǰāgidēni 'his boat is on fire'

Given these facts, one must not rule out the possibility that the marking of obviation on inanimate nouns in Algonquin dialects is an archaic feature which has been lost in Odawa.

(f) A further difference between noun inflection of Algonquin and Odawa is in the marking of locatives. Odawa like most Ojibwa dialects marks locatives by the suffix -ing [iŋ]. Locatives with such an ending generally occur in the Maniwaki dialect, but are encountered only sporadically in other Algonquin dialects. The regular locative ending in the Winneway River and Rapide-Sept dialects is -ikāng [ikāŋ] or -ikāg, depending on whether or not the dialect has the rule that drops nasals in clusters.

(50)

Algonquin	Odawa	
ǰīmānikā(n)g	ǰīmāning	'in the boat'
odābānikā(n)g	odābāning	'in the car'
asabīkā(n)g	asabīng	'in the net'
zībīkā(n)g	zībīng	'in the river'
nibīkā(n)g	nibīng	'in the water'

(In the last three examples for both Algonquin and Odawa, the initial vowel of the locative suffix is deleted after the stem-final vowel.)

The Algonquin locative ending does not appear to be entirely unrelated to the more widely attested suffix -ing. In fact this ending -ikāng seems to be analyzable into an element -ikā plus locative suffix -ing. Of

course, such an analysis can only be maintained if it can be shown that this element -ikā is otherwise attested in Ojibwa. Possible evidence for the occurrence of such a suffix in other forms may be found in the derivation of certain verbs from nouns. In Odawa, the intransitive verbs nēgawikā 'be a sandy area' and nibīkā 'be a watery area' are clearly derived from the nouns nēgaw 'sand' and nibī 'water', respectively. Both the verbs seem to embody some notion of location. This verb ending -ikā may thus be identified with the element -ikā that occurs in Algonquin locatives.

The Algonquin locative ending -ikā(n)g is probably neither innovative nor restricted to these dialects. Baraga (1878) lists two locative forms nibīng and nibīkāng meaning 'in the water'. He also cites the verb nibīkā with the gloss 'there is water'.

(g) This sketch of morphological differences between Algonquin and other Ojibwa dialects will be concluded with a discussion of a trait which has been noted in Cuoq (1891-92) and is manifested in the Maniwaki dialect. This dialect shows a seemingly unpredictable alternation in the stem-final vowel of certain animate intransitive verb stems. In some cases, the alternation is between ā and ē and in others between ā and ī. The alternants ē and ī occur only in the third person (singular and plural) indicative forms and only in the 'independent' order. Verb forms based on the stems nibā- 'sleep' and māǰā- 'leave' illustrate the patterns.

(51)	Maniwaki	Odawa	
	ninibā	ninibā	'I sleep'
	qinibā	qinibā	'you sleep'
	nibē	nibā	'he sleeps'
	nibēwan	nibāwan	'he (obv.) sleeps'
	nibēwaq	nibāwaq	'they sleep'
	nibāǰ	nibād	'he sleeps' (conjunct)

(52)	Maniwaki	Odawa	
	nimāǰā	nimāǰā	'I leave'
	qimāǰā	qimāǰā	'you leave'
	māǰī	māǰā	'he leaves'
	māǰin[19]	māǰāwan	'he (obv.) leaves'
	māǰīq	māǰāwaq	'they leave'
	māǰāǰ	māǰād	

These patterns of alternation appear to be idiosyncratic, since many ā-final stems do not vary in either of the ways illustrated in (51) and (52). Examples of non-alternating stems are ondimitā 'to work', agigokā 'to have a cold' and bēskā 'to be slow'. Among the small number of stems that vary like nibā (51) are zagaswā 'to sneak' and ayamiyā 'to pray'. The ā ~ ī alternation has also been attested for the stems iżā 'to go' and onǰibā 'to come from (a given place)'. From these data, it would seem that the alternation between ā and ī is restricted to verbs of motion, but the verbs that undergo the ā ~ ē alternation do not

appear to fall into a well defined sub-class. One AI verb of motion which appears in Odawa as bimādagā 'to swim' occurs in the Winneway River and Kipawa dialects as bimādagī, but in Rapide-Sept as bimādagē. However, in none of the dialects does the stem of this verb alternate.

Syntactic. So far in our investigation of Algonquin dialects, we have done very little work on syntactic processes. Therefore, the discussion of differences in this area must be brief, and our findings must be regarded as tentative. Two syntactic features which we have observed in the Winneway River and Rapide-Sept dialects merit comment. Again, we will be making comparison with the Odawa dialect of Ojibwa.

(a) In Odawa there is a pair of intransitive verb stems - bātīno (AI) and bātīnad (II) - which may be glossed as 'there is a lot of (X)' or 'there are lots of (X's)', where (X) identifies the noun. If the noun is a 'mass' noun, both the noun and the verb occur in the singular. If the noun is a 'count' noun, the verb and the noun will both agree either in the singular or in the plural. Consider the following Odawa forms, the optional plural endings being shown in parentheses.

(53) bātīno asēmā 'there is a lot of tobacco'
bātīnad nibōb 'there is a lot of soup'

(54) bātīno(waq) ǯīšīb(aq) 'there are lots of ducks'
bātīnad(ōn) ǯīmān(an) 'there are lots of boats'

It thus seems that in this dialect both the noun and the verb must agree, and this pattern is normal for subject-verb constructions. A sequence such as (55), with the verb in the singular and the noun marked as plural, is apparently unacceptable in Odawa.

(55) *bātīno ǯīšībaq

In the Winneway River and Rapide-Sept dialects, we encounter a form mānē, which has the same meaning as the Odawa pair bātīno/bātīnad.[29] This form occurs in constructions similar to those in (53) and (54). However, unlike the situation in Odawa, marking the noun for plurality does not necessarily entail that mānē must be marked for a plural subject. For example, the three sentences below all mean 'there are lots of dogs'.

(56) mānē animoš
mānē animošaq
mānēwaq animošaq

The second sentence in (56), which shows non-agreement between the ending on the noun and on mānē, is similar to the unacceptable Odawa sentence (55). If mānē is considered a verb, then it would seem that the requirement that a verb be marked to agree in number with its subject

may be dropped for semantic reasons. Note, however, that sentence (57) is unacceptable in these dialects.

(57) *mānēwaq animoš

Presumably, the reason for the non-occurrence of (57) is a purely syntactic one. A verb can only be marked for plurality if the subject is marked.

(b) The second syntactic peculiarity of the Winneway River and Rapide-Sept dialects involves variation between independent and conjunct verb forms in certain subordinate clauses. The two types of forms are characterized by differences in inflection. Generally, in Ojibwa, independent verb forms occur in principal clauses and conjunct forms in wh-questions, participles and subordinate clauses. The use of the conjunct in the latter types of constructions is obligatory in most dialects. However, in the two Algonquin dialects mentioned above conjunct forms vary with independent ones in certain subordinate clauses. Sentences in (58) illustrate this variation. The data is from the Rapide-Sept dialect, in which the third person suffix is normally d rather than ȷ. The conjunct forms follow the independent.

(58) (a) niqīwābamā ininī bimosē/ē-bimosēd
'I saw a man walking'

(b) niqīnōndawāq animošaq miginēwaq/e-miginēwād
'I heard the dogs barking'

(c) nidinēndān wīwīsini/ē-wīwīsinid
'I think he is hungry'

(d) nidinēndān bēbē nibā/ē-nibād
'I think the baby is asleep'

We have been unable to detect any differences in meaning between the sentence with an independent verb form and that with a conjunct.

In these dialects, there are other subordinate clauses in which the verb must be in the conjunct, as it would be in other Ojibwa dialects. For example, the independent form of the verb cannot occur in conditional clauses, introduced by the particle qīšpin. In addition, conjunct forms are obligatory in the subordinate clauses of the following sentences.

(59) (a) giwīndēnimin ȷi-nīmiyan
'I want you to dance'

(b) niwīndēnimā ȷi-nīmid
'I want him to dance'

(c) niqīgoqwēȷimā ȷi-niqamod
'I asked him to sing'

(d) nigīgogwēǰimig ǰi-nigamoyān
'he asked me to sing'

(e) nigīnā ǰi-bigīwēd
'I told him to come home'

(f) gigīnižinan ǰi-bigīwēyān
'you told me to come home'

(In the citations above, as well as in (58), we have chosen to place a hyphen between the formatives ē and ǰi, which introduce conjunct forms, and the verbs.)

Lexical. The final section of this sketch is simply a listing of some lexical differences between Algonquin and central Ojibwa (Odawa). What we refer to as lexical differences are not differences in processes of word-formation. We are simply drawing attention to the occurrence of different forms with the same or similar meanings, and also to a few cases in which essentially the same form occurs in Odawa and Algonquin, but with different meanings. We have already cited examples of lexical differences which result from restructuring. These differences are usually minimal and no examples of such differences will be repeated here. In the citations to follow, any form which occurs in Algonquin and which is also cited in Baraga (1878), but does not occur in Odawa, will be identified by a (B) following it. The forms listed in Baraga may differ slightly in spelling.

(60)

	Algonquin	Odawa	
(a)	anikān	wīwikwān	'hat', 'cap'
	ažigan (B)	midās	'sock'
	bēbēžigoškwē	bēžigōgažī	'horse'
	bōzī	gāžag	'cat'
	dibwēban (B)	wāsagang	'pepper'
	dēsabīwāgan	apabiwin	'chair'
	dōwān	bakwākod	'ball'
	ǰōǰōšinābō	dōdōšābō	'milk'
	manīǰōš	manidōns	'bug'
	mīnāǰīš	mīn	'blueberry'
	mitigowaž (B)[21]	makak	'box'
	mōdābik	omōday	'bottle'
	oǰikoš	bižiki	'cow'
	wābimin	mišīmin	'apple'
	wīsinīwāgan (B)[22]	adōpowin	'table'
(b)	ayamiyā	anamihā	'to pray'
	basizidām	dāngiškaw	'to kick'
	gabāšimo	baqizo	'to swim'
	gīšpanē	mōškinē	'to be full'
	mānē (B)[23]	bātīno	'to be much/many of'
	miginē	migi	'to bark'
	ondimitā[24]	anokī	'to work'
	wīwīsini	bakadē	'to be hungry'
	žāgozī (B)	nīnimizi	'to be weak'
	zāmin[25]	dāngin	'to touch'

	Algonquin	Odawa	
(c)	a(n)dī (B)	anipīš	'where?'
	nīžin	nīž	'two'
	nisin	niswi	'three'
	nongom (B)	nango	'now'
	onāgo/piǰīnāgo (B)	ǰīnāgo	'yesterday'

The forms listed under Algonquin include a few which also occur in Odawa, and, conversely, some Odawa citations also occur in Algonquin. However, such common forms have different meanings in the different dialects.

(i) manidōns is simply the [illegible] form of manidō 'Manitou' in Algonquin. It [illegible]rently does not have the meaning 'bug'.

(ii) mīn occurs in Algonquin with the generic meaning 'berry'. In Odawa this form has both the generic meaning and the more specific meaning 'blueberry'.

(iii) A form ondamitā (cf. Algonquin ondimitā) occurs in Odawa with the meaning 'to be busy'.

(iv) anokī, which means 'to work' in Odawa, has the meaning 'to hunt' in Algonquin.

(v) wīwīsini, 'to be hungry' in Algonquin, can also be glossed 'to want/intend to eat' which is the meaning it would have in Odawa. It is clearly derived from wīsini 'to eat'.

(vi) bakadē, 'to be hungry' in Odawa, means 'to be thin/skinny' in Algonquin. The Odawa form with the latter meaning would be žīgwākozi.

(vii) nīnimizī (cf. Odawa nīnimizi) means 'to be clumsy' in Algonquin (see, also note 15).

Conclusion. We have sketched the most noticeable differences between Algonquin and other Ojibwa dialects that we have encountered to date in our study of Algonquin. We have also drawn attention to certain differences between dialects which would be considered Algonquin. Within the group of Algonquin dialects which have been discussed in any detail in this presentation, there appears to be a clear division between Maniwaki to the south and others located further north and west. Maniwaki is closer to Rhodes' central and eastern Ojibwa dialects than any of the others. Of the features we have identified as Algonquin, it still remains to be determined which may be considered as defining for these dialects. One process, nan-attachment, has not been reported for any Ojibwa dialects spoken outside of Québec. But, if Maniwaki is to be classified as Algonquin, this feature cannot be definitive of Algonquin, since it does not occur in this dialect. More work is clearly necessary before we can identify those isoglosses that help to determine what Algonquin is really like.

NOTES

* The work reported on here is part of ongoing research on several dialects of Algonquin. The research project is supported by Canada Council Grant No. S76-0654. I am indebted to my co-investigator, J.D. Kaye, my research assistants, Marilyn Mahan and Ann Grafstein, and to the native consultants from all the communities mentioned.

[1] The transcription of forms in this paper does not always reflect actual phonetic realizations, since I will at times include vowels which are deleted by syncope. Those readers who are familiar with my earlier works on Ojibwa phonology will note a minor modification in the transcription. Consonants are now represented to indicate a contrast between voiced and voiceless.

[2] Here and elsewhere the vowels in parentheses are elided or reduced.

[3] It must be admitted that this conclusion is not based on a close phonetic analysis of the relevant data. It may turn out to be the case that the output of this process should be analysed as a geminate nasal.

[4] Rhodes (1976.148) records the form masē 'he walks' as a casual variant of the more careful bmosē in the central dialect.

[5] There are a few forms which appear to be exceptions to this rule. Among these are forms containing the final -ēnd, e.g. minēndam 'he is happy' and inēndam 'he thinks so'.

[6] The dropping of a post-consonantal w has also occurred in the derivation of the form minēndam 'he is happy' from minw-ēndam. The w-deletion in this case seems to be an idiosyncratic property of the morpheme minw-. Forms such as ikwē 'woman' and mīnikwē 'he drinks' show that post-consonantal w does not normally drop before ē.

[7] Only the nasals n and m occur as underlying stem-final consonants in this type of intransitive verb.

[8] We should add a word of caution about the Kipawa situation. The language in this community appears to be dying. There are only a few remaining speakers of this dialect and our description is based on information provided by a single elderly consultant. She claims that she does not normally speak her language and she frequently has difficulty with certain forms. The village, itself, was established only recently and is populated by people from at least two other communities, Winneway River and North Temiskaming. Hence, there is a strong possibility of dialect mixture. However, no other dialect has the peculiarity shown by the examples shown in (29) and (30).

[9] This noun is animate only in some Ojibwa dialects. In Odawa and in Maniwaki Algonquin it is inanimate and hence the plural would be asinīn.

[10] Baraga (1878) lists the singular form azādī.

[11] For some dialects the plural of this form is abwīn (inanimate). In Odawa where both abwīn and abwīg occur, the latter means 'propellors' and the former 'paddles'.

[12] Baraga (1878) lists this plural as maškodēwan.

[13] Two of these forms, aki and abwi, are derived from *akyi and *abwyi, respectively. The final vowel is an archaic marker of inanimate singular and is exceptionally retained in a few forms (cf. miši 'firewood').

[14] This seems to be a convenient place to comment on another analogically derived form given by one of the Algonquin consultants. The form oǰī was elicited as a singular meaning 'fisher' and would thus be minimally different from ōǰī 'fly'. However, this historically correct form for 'fisher' is oǰīg. Apparently, the consultant created a new singular from the old singular which was assumed to be a plural form because of its ending. However, this creation was not corroborated by the data from other consultants.

[15] The meanings given are in accordance with Algonquin usage. Baraga (1878) lists both these stems with the meaning 'to be weak'. In Odawa, however, nīnimizi means 'to be weak' and žāgozi has not been attested.

[16] This pattern seems to be the dominant one for this type of stem in Maniwaki, but some speakers in this community seem to have restructured stem ininī, since for them the plural is ininīg.

[17] The Algonquin dialect described by Cuoq (1891-92) also shows ǰ. Cuoq's description shows features very similar to those of the Maniwaki dialect.

[18] Some dialects distinguish singular from plural obviatives, but neither Odawa nor the Algonquin dialects make such a distinction.

[19] The form māǰīn, derived from māǰī+w+an, shows that the contraction process illustrated by some of the examples in (42) applies not only to the plural ending -wag but also to the obviative ending -wan. Note also that contraction exceptionally does not apply to the forms nibēwan 'he (obv.) sleeps' and nibēwag 'they sleep'.

[20] Baraga (1878) cites a form manē (apparently with a lax a) of which he says: "in compositions, signifies 'want', 'scarcity'". He adds that the word has the opposite meaning in the 'Otawa' [Odawa] dialect. This form has not been

attested in the Odawa dialect of Manitoulin Island, but it is clear that a similar form with the meaning Baraga identifies as Odawa does occur in the two Algonquian dialects.

[21] Listed in Baraga, but only as an Algonquin word.

[22] Listed in Baraga with the meaning 'manger/trough'.

[23] See note (20).

[24] The form ondimitā with the meaning 'to work' occurs in the Maniwaki dialect. In the Winneway River dialect, the corresponding form is mīkimo. The latter may be related to a form mīkozi 'to be industrious' which is listed in Baraga.

[25] This form is not listed in Baraga but is known to occur in an Ojibwa dialect spoken near Kenora, Ontario.

APPENDIX A

Summary of Phonological and Morphological Features

1. Non-deletion/-reduction of word-initial lax vowels.
2. Tensing of word-initial lax vowels.
3. Coalescence of bilabial stop plus bilabial nasal to m.
4. Nasal deletion (i.e. simplification of nasal + obstruent clusters).
5. Deletion of postconsonantal w before ā.
6. Devoicing of word-final obstruents.
7. Devoicing of word-initial obstruents.
8. Non-coalescence of awi before n (<*θ).
9. Attachment of nan after lax vowels (manifested primarily in 1st and 2nd person singular forms of AI verbs).
10. Restructuring of *Cy stems as CĪ.
11. Idiosyncratic tensing of stem-final i in AI verbs.
12. Restructuring of iw-stems to Ī (e.g. ininiw > ininī).
13. Contraction of n+an as n, accompanied by rising pitch (manifested in plural forms of inanimate nouns).
14. Contraction of V+wag/wan to V+g/n (manifested in obviative and 3rd person plural forms of AI verbs).
15. Marking 2nd person plural in AI verbs by the suffix -nāwa rather than -m.
16. Occurrence of 3rd person conjunct suffix as -ǰ rather than -d.
17. Elimination of some inflectional differences between pseudo-intransitive and transitive inanimate verb forms.
18. Occurrence of the 'you-me' theme-sign as -iǰi rather than -i.
19. Marking inanimate nouns for 'obviation'.
20. Occurrence of locatives ending in -ikāng/-ikāg rather than -ing.
21. Occurrence of stem-final alternations between ā and ē, and between ā and Ī.

The distribution of the above features across the five Algonquin dialects mentioned in this paper is shown in the chart to follow (Appendix B). Presence of a feature is indicated by a plus and its absence by a minus. If some process or feature appears to be optional in a certain dialect, this is indicated by the symbol (+). No specification for a given feature in a given dialect simply means that evidence is lacking.

Indians and Englishmen as Themselves: Notes for an Inquiry into Basic Biases

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". . . le bien et le mal
dépend du goût des hommes."
Mathurin Régnier (1573-1613)

The respective attitudes of the Indians and the English towards one another have often been polarized as "positive" and "negative." The French terms la bienveillance and la malveillance seem more appropriate, as opposing derivatives of vouloir, closely related in meaning and origin to "good will" and "ill will", but capable of broader interpretation. Hence my choice of an introductory aphorism that echoes the ancient proverb, chacun à son goût -- "there is no disputing preferences."

A Flash-Back to Ancient Times

Neither mythology nor poetry can be called my forte. Yet today I have to call on both to illustrate my subject. The confrontation of Indians and Englishmen in northeastern North America in the reign of James I was not of the Indians' making, and only incidentally can it be blamed on the Englishmen, jointly or severally. It was brought about by a historical phenomenon called colonization. This phenomenon had been noted for many centuries before there were any Englishmen, but the earliest well-known conflict caused by it is also the first one to offer any semblance to a parallel with the Jamestown, Plymouth, and Massachusetts Bay colonies. Fernand Braudel (1973) has called the protohistorical colonizing of the Greeks and Phoenicians "a dramatic upheaval." I believe that the same phrase can be applied to the English arrival in North America as colonizers.

Mythology would have it that the Troy of which Homer sang was founded as a colony by Cretans, either directly or by way of Athens (Graves 1955: 2.259-345). Since this would have been considerably earlier historically than any known Phcenician venture of the kind, allow me to aver that the Greeks were the prime colonizers of antiquity. (Please note that the Cretans seem to have been ante-Greek Greeks, linguistically.) A conflict arose between the Cretan-Greek Trojans and an assembly of other Greeks a dozen centuries before Augustus Caesar founded the Roman Empire--with its systematic colonization--and this conflict produced Homer's Iliad.

Historically, the Greeks (who spent ten years trying to subdue Troy) were barbarian invaders: and the Trojans, mercantile, civilized progeny of the Cretans. The Greeks wanted a foothold in Troy for economic and strategic reasons, far beyond the Homeric myth of Helen and Paris, Achilles and Hector. Here is where the parallel lies with the English determination to establish a bridgehead in North America. That the rôles were reversed only augments le piquant de l'analogie, "the piquancy of the analogy."

The English colonization of North America, as generally told, is one of a civilized society, England, attempting to establish a base against an inimical civilized society, Spain, by raising somewhat specious claims to the factually little-known land that stretched from Labrador to Florida. Furthermore, England itself was becoming divided by Puritan and other religious opposition to the established Church, while Spain led a large part of Europe in orthodox and monolithic Roman Catholicism; England suffered from a certain economic malaise, real or potential, in the face of the "American gold" that flooded Spain and Europe; and England's national security was endangered by the Spanish seizure of the Portuguese empire by right of inheritance through Philip II. Unwittingly involved in this civilized struggle for power in Europe were the North American aborigines (at first almost exclusively Algonquians) who occupied the coast and much of the interior chosen by English entrepreneurs for their "legally" most defensible target.

These peoples, scattered sparsely (according to all early accounts) from North Carolina to Maine, were clearly less advanced in their cultural and political development than several nations farther to the south, about which Englishmen of those days could read. And unfortunately nature had not blessed them with either the mineral treasures or the climate found in Mexico and northern South America. In fact the English were particularly disturbed by the climate, which was far from what might have been expected in the latitudes of Spain and Italy. Yet, had the first comers arrived with a smaller burden of national and individual pride and of the common superstitions and prejudices of the day, both the Indians and the climate might have proven less hostile than the colonists found them. Here I feel compelled to revert to Homer's epic tale, for the parallel it provides.

The Greeks, I repeat, were the barbarians in the Trojan war, despite the later birth of Greco-Christian humanism, the joint heritage of Europe and of all the colonial peoples whose roots still lie in Europe. Robert Graves, the classical scholar and anthropologist, has put it bluntly: "in the Iliad all the Greek leaders behave so murderously, deceitfully, and shamelessly, while the Trojans behave so well, . . ." And again, "Achilles's hysterical behavior when he heard that Patroclus was dead must have shocked Homer," who had by then "found his spiritual home [in Crete] among the departed glories of Cnossus and Mycenae, not beside the camp fires of the barbarous invaders from the North", the Greeks (Graves 1955: 2.311-12).

Here, then, is the parallel. The English colonists, having found a pretext for camping on the edge of a vast Indian domain, much as the Greeks had Helen as a mythological pretext, settled down to take over, spent more than ten years sowing murder, deceit, and shamelessness among the Indians. The English were "civilized," much as the Greeks soon would be, but their behavior was the same. The Indians were as yet underdeveloped in the techniques of civilization, and in that sense can hardly be compared with the Trojans. Nevertheless, even as Priam had raised Troy to a new height of

wealth and power, numbering at least fourteen cities in Asia Minor as allies, so too had Powhatan built a primitive empire with twice that many tributary towns. And as, when Troy fell, her allies became Greek colonies, so when Powhatan abandoned the struggle his allies and tributaries succumbed to the colonizers from England. Even the God in whose name the English lied, deceived, and murdered, bears a strong resemblance to the combined gods of the Greeks, who are summed up by Robert Graves (31) as "greedy, sly, quarrelsome . . ." Like the ancient Trojans, the Indians were a people that in a broad and simple sense did "behave well" and were beaten by barbarous attackers.

It is not the degree of so-called civilization, or even the presence of a Shakespeare in that civilization, that matters in an assessment of the character of the colonizers. It is merely that historically superior arms and superior ruthlessness won out in Virginia just as Agamemnon's cold-blooded war of attrition sapped the vitality of the Trojans.

More Immediate Background of English Expansion

Leaving mythology and poetry for the moment, let me introduce a bit of history relative to the colonizing efforts of the English in what is now the north-to-middle-eastern part of the United States. For two reasons I shall deal most gingerly with the religious aspects of the more northern efforts. First, religion is no more a forte of mine than mythology. And second, what little expertise I may have in history fades into a dream about the middle of the Thirty Years War: say, just after Charles I without benefit of Parliament signed secret peace treaties with Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden and Philip IV of Spain (1630-1631).

The Turkish assault on Europe that brought about the downfall of the tottering Eastern Roman Empire in 1453 led to a wave of Turkish expansion under Suleyman the Lawgiver that was halted only at the walls of Vienna in 1566. It naturally produced fear, hatred, and a lasting religious enmity among the English which found its expression in Jamestown, Plymouth, and the Massachusetts Bay colony. There the God-fearing protestants, pilgrims, and puritans refused to consider Indian beliefs as anything other than devil-worship, just as the western world generally considered the sultan of Turkey an instrument of Satan. On the other side of the picture, the sultan accepted Jesus as a Great Prophet, and the North American Indians were willing to admit that the Christian God was militarily mightier than Manito or Okee. The relative tolerance of the non-Christians is a historical fact. The intolerance of the Christians survives to this day--even between Christian and Christian.

Pertinently to Virginia and the Indians, about 1600 Captain John Smith, "both lamenting and repenting to have seen so many Christians slaughter one another," somewhat illogically set off to slaughter "the Turkes." Yet only a few years later he was chary of slaughtering the Indians. In fact, he seems to have had a certain sympathy for them. His English background and training could not permit any lack of respect by anybody else towards him (his military

captaincy should be remembered, too) but he himself showed due respect for Powhatan and his sub-chiefs, as well as for the often-misguided common Indian browbeaten by some werowance, or village chief. Nevertheless, when he and the colony were starving, or threatened with extinction, Smith was the first to do enough browbeating to feed the colonists or to save their lives. At the same time, the callous "revenge" visited on the Indians by some of his comrades was beyond Smith's conception of justice or proper behavior.

The Commonalty vs. the Individuals: Good Will and Ill Will

To return to my introductory aphorism and paragraph, let me briefly mention the "good will" or indifference of the Indians as to the English. I say "briefly" because nothing is factually available for the earliest period outside English sources. True, a generation later, say after the 1630s, a sprinkling of Indian reactions are found (always, still, in English) which indicate that the Indians did not all follow the pattern set by Pocahontas, but generally adhered to their old traditions, particularly in religious matters. Otherwise, the "will" of the Indians, so far as we can conjecture it, can be summed up as neither good nor ill, but was initially indifferent or impassible, always with an admixture of curiosity, suspicion, just-in-case propitiation, and xenophobic animosity. Most likely, the Indians were merely testing, to see how the English might fit into their own way of life.

The malveillance of the English in general, on the other hand, does not have to be guessed at. It derived from the Bible (especially the Old Testament) and the sacrosanct English social order, neither one of which had anything good to say about people (if they were "people") who had never heard of Jehovah, James I, the House of Lords, merchant princes, gold, or starched ruffs. As for that rarest of commodities, bienveillance, I shall speak of it next, at some length.

Indeed, I have been inspired to address you today chiefly on that subject by the almost simultaneous appearance on my desk of two works on Indians and Englishmen. The largest of these was the scholarly study The Invasion of America, by my good friend Francis Jennings (1975); the other, a monograph, Roger Williams, Thomas More, and the Narragansett Utopia, by John J. Teunissen and Evelyn J. Hinz (1976-77), known to some of you at least, as the recent editors of Roger Williams', A key into the language of America (1973). The monograph stresses Williams' bienveillance, and at the same time shows, or suggests, how such good will came to be, and attracted my immediate attention because of my own endeavors to find a basic cause for Captain John Smith's exceptionally understanding attitude towards the Indians: exceptionally, in terms of time and place.

Jennings' work--which I admit I have not yet had time to finish digesting--is such a brilliant exercise in polemics that I could not but be tempted to look unusually carefully into his facts and interpretations, particularly in Part I, which constitutes just one half of the text. While I admire his zeal and his thorough research, I cannot help feeling

that he has grabbed a blunderbuss and started shooting savage Englishmen without taking aim. There were indeed, among the vast majority of intolerant, God-fearing Englishmen, a few men of good will. John Smith was one; Samuel Argall, another Virginia colonist, was another, well-known for his good will, patience, and understanding. Others of this stripe were Richard Hakluyt the preacher and Sir Walter Ralegh, John White, a portrayer of the Indians, and Thomas Harriot, the first Englishman to study an Algonquian language.

One needs to be accurate with the earliest accounts, and to learn to distinguish between the independent writers and adventurers on the one hand, and the follow-the-leader body of noblemen, knights, esquires, merchants, and clergy on the other. The clergy were professionally against any idea or practice which did not conform to the tenets of the Church, or to the convictions of one or another nonconformist group, including the Pilgrims and Puritans who conformed only within their own framework. The merchants followed whatever principles favored their personal cause best, so that, if the Indians were ready to strike a fair bargain, they were considered possessed by the devil because the bargain was not fairer to themselves. The esquires followed the knights, and they together joined the nobles. That these should bestow scorn, contempt, futile hatred, and cruelty on the naked "man of the forest" is not surprising. The Pope, perforce non-Anglican, merited even greater opprobrium.

All in all, the "gentlemen adventurers" who went to America in person reflected, as a whole, the traits of their peers and superiors who remained in England. "There were fallings out and quarrels," as Professor Sir Walter Raleigh has written, "and no one was certain whom to obey, because there were many who took upon them to be masters." Indeed, "the English gentleman adventurer was . . . headstrong, giddy, and insubordinate" (Raleigh 1903-5). It is such people at whom Jennings hurls his thunderbolts for their treatment of the Indians. Well and good! But we must remember that they treated one another in about the same fashion. The first half of the seventeenth century was an age of violence. So is this latter half of the twentieth. We ought to be able to understand the earlier rampages that also were a part of life.

What I am slowly getting around to say is that there were perhaps two handfuls of invaders whose attitudes were compassionate and comprehending. These few, I believe, should be named and signalized, along with the reasons for their greater humanity within the overall spirit of violence. The most prominent of these were Captain John Smith, William Strachey (one-time secretary of the Jamestown colony), Captain (later Sir) Samuel Argall, William Wood, and Roger Williams, along with the earlier John White and Thomas Harriot.

Smith operated so far as he could in the best interests of the Indians--despite his determination to make them feed the lazy colonists. In fact, to assume or imply that Smith did not exert every effort to understand and appreciate the

Indians (in his case, all of them Algonquians) is to fly in the face of what he wrote and what he did. I would even go so far as to say that there are clear hints that Powhatan perceived this characteristic in Smith, for how else are we to explain the manner in which he treated him? Surely, we cannot say that Powhatan was afraid of Smith. Why, then, should he have taken Smith under his wing, so to speak, and not only made his daughter Pocahontas the "savior" of Smith and his messenger to him, but even gave him a village near his own residence on the modern York River? It is true that we have only Smith's word for much of this, but there can be no doubt about the part played by Pocahontas, and circumstantial evidence seems to bear out my other suppositions.

What I have been interested in presenting today, however, is a handful of notes on the general matter of basic Indian and English biases, not a bewailing of the occasional shortcomings of Francis Jennings' anticolonial essay, and certainly not an apologia pro John Smith. The second work I mentioned some little time ago--Teunissen and Hinz's monograph on Roger Williams--is the first dispassionate study I have chanced on which looks into the matter of the influences (i.e., biases) affecting the attitude of one early English colonist vis-à-vis the Indians and their culture. The joint authors, with a background of serious study of the Indians involved--the Narragansetts--including their language and customs, have made an admirable inquiry into the working of the mind of one highly individual Englishman, a "university type," as opposed to the military or religious type from which most of the leaders were chosen. And they have come up with an appealing and convincing suggestion that Roger Williams saw in the Indians a living example of something at least similar to Thomas More's Utopians (I have omitted his distracting "labels" of knight and saint). It is beyond my purpose to analyze what evidence is offered, and I refer anyone interested to the article in question. I merely want to offer the study as one worthy of deep regard by those who are interested in what "made the early colonists tick."

In my forthcoming edition of the Complete Works of Captain John Smith there will be new basic facts regarding Smith for use in a future study of this type, including hitherto unused material pertinent to his career in eastern Europe. Strachey's life has been published fairly recently (Culliford 1965), but I have not run across any analysis of his position vis-à-vis the Indians; the same can be said of John Pory (Powell 1977), whose interest in colonization was brief. Samuel Argall needs further attention--passages in my own work on Pocahontas (Barbour 1970) seem to be the latest available word. Williams and Wood, and possibly Weston, need further exploration in depth.

So, in this layman's only-too-human opinion, much remains to be done before we can form a sound historical judgment of the Englishmen who made the first lasting contacts with the Indians, and of the Indians who reacted to these contacts in their own way. As I have said at the outset, the idea of colonization caused it all; not the individuals who took

part. As Fernand Braudel has soundly observed (1973), "We must go far back in time, . . . before we can achieve a valid perspective on the sixteenth century." The same applies to the seventeenth. Regarded in this perspective light, it can hardly be sustained that all Englishmen were malveillants, or that the Anglo-Indian contacts of themselves were an evil thing.

Let us look into what good was done. I am convinced that both sides in the uneven struggle were acting according to their best lights, and this meant that they were acting according to their biases. For this reason, we need much further study of the biases in Indian and Englishman alike.

Antipassive in Blackfoot

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Introduction

A good deal of Algonquian verbal morphology can be understood only within study of syntax.[1] Here I discuss just one feature of Blackfoot verbal morphology which, even in the context of discussion of syntax, can be viewed as an anomaly. The purpose of this paper is to show how the attendant facts can be accounted for within universal grammar.

The Problem

A large number of logically transitive verbs are intransitive (AI) as evidenced by their inflection.[2] Thus in (1)-(3) the verb inflection "cross-references"[3] only the subject:

(1) Nít-ohpommaa ĺ'ksisako-i.
1-buy(AI) meat-nonpartic
'I bought meat.'

(2) Ki-káta'-ya-ĺssiiststaki-hp istotoóhs-i?
2-quest-dur-wash(AI)-clothes-nonpartic
nonaffirm
'Do you wash clothes?'

(3) A-ĺsstsipisaaki-wa ponokaómitaa-i.
dur-whip(AI)-3 horse-nonpartic
'He whips horses.'

There are transitive (TA and TI) counterparts to such verbs which contain the same roots; compare (4)-(6) with (1)-(3), respectively:

(4) Nít-ohpommat-oo'pa ĺ'ksisako-yi.
1-buy(trans)-3in.sg meat-partic
'I bought the meat.'

(5) Ki-káta'-ya-ĺssiiststst-oo'pi k-istotoóhs-istsi?
2-quest-dur-wash(TI)-3in.pl your-clothes-pl
'Do you wash your clothes?'

(6) Omiiksi ponokaómitaa-iksi a-ĺsstsipis-iiwaiksi.
those horse-pl dur-whip-3:4pl
'He whips those horses.'

In (4)-(6), the verb cross-references person, number and gender of both subject and direct object.

The primary factor which determines whether such verbs

are transitive or intransitive is the referential status of the direct object: in (1)-(3) the direct object is non-particular or non-referring, whereas in (4)-(6) the speaker has a particular referent or set of referents in mind for the object (Frantz 1971). The same stems are used if the direct object is totally unspecified, as in (7)-(8):

(7) Nítohpommaa. 'I made a purchase.'

(8) Kikáta'yaíssiiststakihpa? 'Are you washing?'

On the other hand, if the direct object is particular in reference but clear from context, the transitive stem is used, as in (9)-(10):

(9) Nítohpommatoo'pa. 'I bought it.'

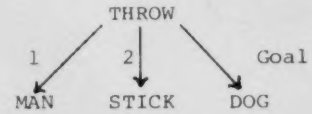
(10) Aísstsipisiiwaiksi. 'He whips them.'

In summary, the bulk of logically transitive roots have both transitive and intransitive stems, the former occurring when the direct object is particular in reference, and the latter when the direct object is unspecified or non-particular in reference.

Framework for Discussion

The remainder of this paper will utilize the Relational Grammar (RG) framework. RG views sentences as relational networks involving universal grammatical relations (GR's), including relations between relations. Of greatest relevance here are the relations nominals can bear to a predicate governor. These are of two types: term relations and non-term relations. The former set has only three members: Subject (1), Direct Object (2), and Indirect Object (3). Non-term relations include Place, Benefactee, Goal, Source, Comitative, Instrument, etc. In this paper I will schematically represent relations by labelled arrows between predicates and their dependents. E.g., network (11) expresses the GR's of sentence (12):

(11)



(12) Om-a nínaa-wa itáp-aapiksi-ma
that-3 man-3 toward-throw(TI)-3:in.sg
miistsís-i om-í imitaá-yi.
stick-partic that-4 dog-4
'The man threw the stick to that dog.'

An important "law" of RG is that only terms trigger verb agreement. Thus the verb of (12) reflects person, number, and gender of 'man' as 1, and of 'stick' as 2, but not of 'dog' (Goal). So, e.g., pluralizing 'stick' affects verb

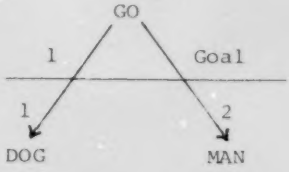
inflection as in (13), but pluralizing 'dog' has no effect on the verb; compare (14) and (12):

(13) Oma nínaawa itápaapiksim-i miistsíistsi omí imitaáyi.
'The man threw (the) sticks at that dog.'

(14) Oma nínaawa itápaapiksim-a miistsísi omíksi imitáaiksi.
'The man threw (the) stick at those dogs.'

Networks may involve more than one 'level' of sets of relations. Thus (15), the network for (16), involves a revaluation between successive levels in that a Goal has 'advanced' to 2:

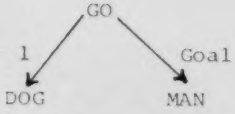
(15)



(16) Om-a imitaá-wa itap-áaats-iiwa om-í nínaa-yi.
that-3 dog-3 toward-go(TA)-3:4 that-4 man-4
'That dog approached that man.'

Compare (17), which is a simpler network, showing the relations of (18):

(17)

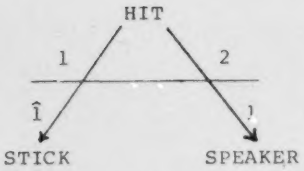


(18) Om-a imitaá-wa itap-oó-wa om-í nínaa-yi.
that-3 dog-3 toward-go-3 that-4 man-4
'The dog went toward that man.'

In (18) 'man' is not a term and thus does not trigger verb agreement, but in (16) 'man' is the final 2, as well as the initial Goal, and so does trigger verb agreement.

Another important concept in RG is that of chômage (and the derivative non-term relation chômeur). By a law of RG, no two nominals can bear the same term relation on a given level. Thus if a revaluation rule assigns term relation R to a nominal X on level L_i, and a different nominal Y bears R on level L_{i-1}, then Y is assigned the chômeur relation on L_i. In other words, a chômeur is a nominal which has had its "earlier" termhood usurped by another nominal on the next level. I will illustrate first with English passive, then with what I tentatively consider to be a case of necessary passive in Blackfoot.

(19)



(20) I was hit by a stick.

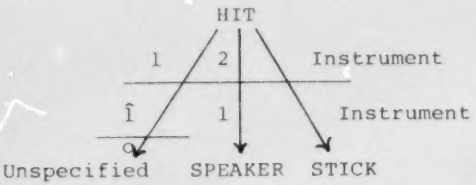
'Stick' is the initial 1 of (20), as labelled in (19). But the speaker is final 1, thus making 'stick' a 1-chômeur (Î). The preposition by of (20) 'flags' the 1 status of a stick.

Network (19) may also indicate the GR's of Blackfoot (21):

(21) N-ómoht-awayáki-ookoo omí miistsís-i
I-instr-hit(TA)-pass that:in stick-partic
'The stick hit me.'

But in Blackfoot there is no non-passive counterpart to (21) such as the non-passive A stick him me of English. Blackfoot does not allow inanimate gender nominals to be final subject of transitive verbs. Consequently, the initial 2 advances to 1,[5] and 'stick' is a final Î. It is very common for languages to mark Î's in the same way as Instruments. However, Blackfoot uses no preposition or case markings, but instead registers the involvement of certain non-terms in the verb. Thus in (21) the verb includes "preverb" omoht-, the usual preverb for registration of an Instrument or Means. In fact, (21) is ambiguous as to whether 'stick' is an initial 1 or initial Instrument; in the latter case (21) would be translated 'I was hit with a stick.', and the network would be as in (22):

(22)



Actually, it is not at all clear that (20) is a true passive in either of its meanings.[6] An alternative analysis posits a "silent dummy" as final 1 of (20). There is some evidence for this analysis, as the non-affirmative ending for verbs such as that in (21) is the same one usually called for if 3rd person singular is involved (Unlenbeck 1938.149-151) as either final 1 or 2:

(23) N-ómoht-awayáki-ook-oo-waatsiksi miistsí-i.
I-instr-hit-inverse-?-3:nonaffirm stick-nonpartic
'I was hit with/by a stick?'

This supports the dummy analysis over the passive analysis in that under the dummy analysis the verb remains transitive and will be inflected for the most neutral person category (3 sg) rather than agree with the dummy.

Under either the passive or dummy analysis, 'stick' is a final $\hat{1}$.

Antipassive

The intransitivity of the verbs in (1)-(3) and in (7)-(8) can be accounted for if only specified, particular 2's "count" as 2's for purposes of verb agreement. Given that final 1's and 2's trigger verb agreement in Blackfoot, and under the hypothesis that semantic roles map directly and universally onto initial grammatical relations, then the networks for (1)-(3) and (7)-(8) must involve revaluations, so that the initial 2's are not final 2's.[7] Such a revaluation rule has been discussed by Paul Postal (1977) and David Johnson (1976) to account for similar phenomena in a wide range of languages. Both Postal and Johnson claim that a 2 may be demoted to a 2-chômeur.

A particularly clear case is that of Eskimo, as the following evidence from Seiler (1976) illustrates.

(24) aŋuti-m aġviq qiniġ-aa
man-erg whale see-3:3
'The man saw a (particular) whale.'

(25) aŋun aġviġ-mik qiñiq-tuq
man whale-instr see-3
'The man saw a whale.'

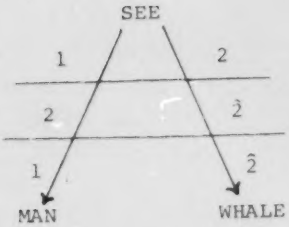
In (24) the 2 is a particular whale, and the clause is transitive as indicated by the ergative case suffix on 'man', and by the transitive verb agreement with person and number of both 1 and 2. In (25), on the other hand, 'whale' is not a final 2 so the clause is intransitive. Of particular interest is the presence of the instrumental suffix -mik on 'whale' in (25). Seiler (1976) amply demonstrates that all $\hat{2}$'s are marked with the instrumental case in Eskimo. Compare (26) and (27); the latter involves advancement of an initial indirect object to 2, so the initial 2 is a final $\hat{2}$. The $\hat{2}$ in (27) has the instrumental suffix.

(26) miiyu-um mani-ch aŋut-mik-nun qaitch-ai
Miiyuk-erg money-pl man-her-to give-3:3pl
'Miiyuk gave the money to her husband.'

(27) miiyu-um aŋut-riŋ maniŋ-ñik qaitchu-uti-gaa
Miiyuk-erg man-her money-instr:pl give-ben-3:3
'Miiyuk gave her husband (the) money.'

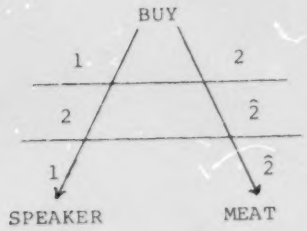
Postal (1977) proposes demotion of 1 to 2 as the mechanism that causes the initial 2 to be a final $\hat{2}$ in antipassive sentences such as (25). The network for (25) will then be (28):

(28)



Since this mechanism is available within this universal framework, it can account for the Blackfoot phenomenon under discussion. So the network for (1), repeated below, will be:

(29)



(1) Nít-ohpommaa ĺ'ksisako-i. 'I bought meat.'
1-buy(AI) meat-nonpartic

I claim then that verb stems such as those in (1)-(3) and which I have previously called "Pseudo-intransitive stems" (Frantz 1971), are antipassive stems, i.e. stems which are constrained to occur in networks such as (29).

Because Blackfoot, unlike Eskimo, does not mark 2̂'s, my claim that antipassive is involved in (1)-(3) has little support other than the fact that it will account for their lack of transitivity. In the next section I present some facts which favour this analysis over one which merely refers to the referential status of the objects in (1)-(3).[8]

Causative Verbs

As discussed in Frantz (1971), the "instigative cause" suffix attaches only to intransitive stems.[9] Thus in causative verbs with logically transitive roots, the causative root will attach to what I previously called Pseudo-intransitive stems. That is, the causative of a transitive verb will be made up of the antipassive stem plus the causative root. See (30) and (31) for examples.

(30) K-ĺnn-a kit-ssiistaki-átts-ook-a (istotoóhs-i).
your-father-3 2-wash(AI)-cause-inverse-3 clothes-non-partic

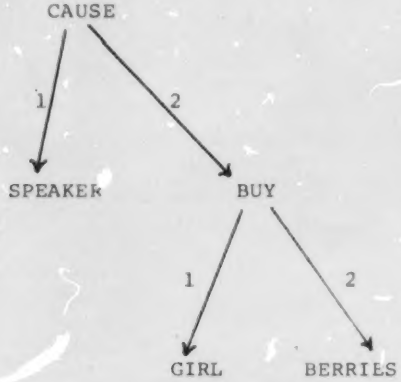
'Your father made you wash (clothes).'

(31) Nít-ohpomma-átts-aawa om-á aakiíkoan-a
1-buy(AI)-cause-3 that-3 girl-3

óm-istsi miín-istsi.
that-pl.in berry-pl.in
'I made the girl buy those berries.'

Observe that in (31) we find the antipassive stem despite the fact that the logical object of 'buy' is particular in reference. Thus in causative clauses it is not possible to explain the form of the verb in terms of the referential status of the logical object. The most satisfying account requires that we view causative clauses as involving two initial clauses. Thus the initial relations of (31) are those of (32):

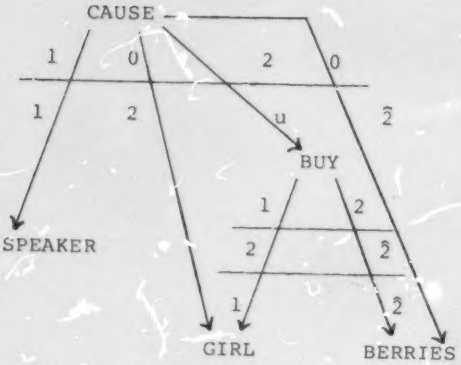
(32)



Relational grammar posits a universal rule of causative clause union in which the dependents of the 'downstairs' predicate (in this case BUY) become dependents of CAUSE, and the downstairs predicate loses its governor status (becomes a predicate 'emeritus'). In the union, a downstairs 1 of an intransitive verb becomes the 2 of CAUSE.

My earlier statement that in Blackfoot the causative root is always attached to an intransitive stem is the morphological consequence of a (syntactic) constraint on networks with CAUSE in Blackfoot: causative clause union requires that CAUSE govern an intransitive clause. In cases where this constraint would be violated, Blackfoot satisfies the constraint by the mechanism of antipassive. Thus the network for (31) is (33):

(33)



Observe that the downstairs network is identical to (29) (with the irrelevant substitution of nominals GIRL and BERRIES).

Summary

We have seen two situations which require the intransitive form of logically transitive verbs in Blackfoot. The first was where a logical object is either unspecified or non-particular in reference. The second was when attached to the causative root. In a relational grammar of Blackfoot, these facts are accounted for by saying that a single universal rule, antipassive, is governed by either of two factors, one semantic (referential status of the initial 2) and the other syntactic (a constraint on causative clause union.)

NOTES

[1] Nowhere is this more admirably demonstrated than in Rhodes (1976).

[2] Abbreviations used only in glosses include: 1, 2, and 3 for first, second, and third person; 4 = obviative; dur = durative; quest = question marker; partic = particular; in = inanimate gender; trans = transitive. AI, TA, and TI used as is customary in Algonquian literature. In glosses for transitive verbs, subject and direct object persons reflected in a portmanteau suffix are separated by a colon, e.g., "3:4" = 3 subject, 4 (obviative) object.

[3] This is Bloomfield's (1946.94) term for agreement with a nominal.

[4] áaat is the result of adding transitivizer -at (seen also in (4)) to root oo - 'go'.

[5] I suggest an alternative analysis below.

[6] Nor am I any longer confident that any Blackfoot transitive verbs with unspecified subject are passives. The evidence I presented in Frantz (1976) for Blackfoot making use of preverb iito - 'go' may be invalid, for this preverb may originate in an adverbial clause. The same type of argument for the other languages will go through by substituting preverb 'want', however.

I would like to take this opportunity to list some important errata for Frantz (1976):
(a) In (7) of p.203, substitute suffix -ma for -xpa.
(b) Delete the first full sentence of p.204 and substitute the following: 'Micmac uses either the TA passive stem (me:toqsik-ɬ) 'they (in) were hit' or a mediopassive stem (pema:tasʌqil) 'they (in) were carried'.
(c) In line 6 of note 2 (p.215), change 'subject' to 'object'.

[7] As Glynn Piggott pointed out in discussion of this paper, I give no evidence against an analysis in which the nominals in question are initial non-terms. Rich Rhodes added that in the mapping of semantic roles onto initial GR's it may be that non-particularity of reference makes certain patients 'undeserving' of initial termhood. But until it becomes untenable, I prefer to go with what seems to me to be the strongest hypothesis: that semantic role alone determines initial GR's.

[8] See note 7.

[9] This is apparently a pan-Algonquian constraint.

Some Contemporary Views of Micmac Supernaturalism

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1977 has seen a resurgence of interest in research on Micmac supernaturalism. This paper is an attempt first to summarize the views of three scholars, Peggy Martin, Harold McGee and the author, who have recently presented their ideas on this topic, and second to attempt to resolve some differences in interpretation.

Peggy Martin (1977) presents, in a closely argued paper, materials which I cannot do justice to in the space I have at my disposal. In short, her argument is that the concept of the Newfoundland witch results from the ambiguities which are inherent in the role of the stranger in the isolated Newfoundland community. Her data consist of 88 narratives found in the Memorial University Folklore and Language Archive (1977.39). These cases involve both Micmac and non-Micmac persons regarded as witches. The ratio of Micmac to non-Micmac witch is 35/53. The data was in the form of legend texts written out by informants. Although Martin is not specific, I assume that most of the narratives about Micmac witches were related by whites rather than by Micmacs.

The Micmac term buoin is glossed "witch" by the contemporary Micmac. Witches are "... asocial creatures representing a synthesis of Anglo-American and American Indian belief systems (Martin 1977.35)." The Micmacs were aliens in the Newfoundland communities. Their culture was misinterpreted by the white community, and the suspected power of the Indian in the realm of the supernatural magnified. In Martin's words (1977.41):

> In all probability the cultural remoteness of the Micmacs within white communities, as well as widespread beliefs and stereotypes about prototypical Indian 'power' contributed to the association of Micmacs as witches.

In this context Micmacs were thought to be imbued with the power to make curses and to bring misfortune to the community. In at least ten cases--unfortunately Martin (1977.43) is not more specific in this matter--the Micmac witch makes a curse because the bewitched refuses to grant a favour such as buying a basket or returning meat killed out of season to the Micmac involved. "The Indians knew from traditional role models what advantages could be gained from 'playing the witch' (Martin 1977.41)" and apparently took full advantage of the new role which was attributed to them.

Most recently Harold McGee (1977) suggested that there is a continuity of Micmac religious beliefs extending from the 17th century to the present time. McGee presents three examples based on his recent research among the

Micmac of Cape Breton Island. Two reveal the existence of "soul flight" while the third discusses the ability of a person to harm another by suggesting to the intended victim that desired consequences will occur through the mental activicy of the buoin.

Only the third case falls within the rubric "buoin as witch," a common 20th century Micmac view. Specifically, it refers to a case in which a Micmac is refused a requested ride in a car and is said to have caused that car to become inoperative before it reached its destination. The other two cases refer to either the native categories kinap or buoin. Whichever way the contemporary Micmac might classify the person who maintains the power of "soul flight", his characteristics bear greater similarity to the 19th century Micmac view of supernatural power than to the 20th century view of the buoin as witch (Erickson 1978a).

The two cases of soul flight are interesting in that their occurance is rare among descriptions of the Micmac. One refers to a request to a young person by an older woman to guarantee that the older woman will remain on her back after falling asleep so that when the woman's soul departs for a visit to distant parts it will be able to return into the body again through her mouth. The second case refers to a Micmac male living in southern New England. He was born on Cape Breton Island, however, and maintained ties with his relatives there. One day he is reported to have been seen in the village of his birth. This is reported to the "visitor's" brother who, in turn, makes a telephone call to southern New England to check his brother's whereabouts. The brother answers the phone and replies that at the time in question he had laid down and had wished that he could be back home.

If I interpret McGee correctly, he is saying that European beliefs both of the Great Tradition and the Little Tradition have been added to the constellation of religious beliefs of the Micmac, but these in no way have broken the continuity in expression of original Micmac belief.

A view that I expressed in "Some Recent Micmac Witch Beliefs" (1978b) at the 1977 meetings of the Canadian Ethnology Society and in a longer paper, "The Micmac Buoin, Three Centuries of Cultural and Semantic Change" (1978a), shows that the recent Micmac concept of witches among the Micmac is strikingly similar to Martin's account of the views of Newfoundlanders on Micmac witchcraft.

The data in my presentation were drawn primarily from Wallis and Wallis (1955), Johnson (1943), and the Ruth Wallis field notes for a projected monograph, Children of the Micmac. Mrs. Wallis provides 24 examples of Micmac witchcraft directed toward other Micmac, and Johnson as well as Wallis and Wallis provide numerous other examples. Nevertheless, the details of Micmac witchcraft are almost identical--whether related by whites in Newfoundland or by Micmacs in the Maritimes, or whether directed by Micmacs against whites or Micmacs against other Micmacs. The Ruth Wallis materials show that witches are persons--generally elderly and female--who are dependent on others in the community for aid. Moreover, they tend to be

regarded as deviants, if not outsiders, by their accusers; although, in fact, it is often the accusers who are the true outsiders in the community, often coming from a different community, region, ethnic group or language group (Erickson 1978a). Since no public acceptance of the witchcraft accusations need be obtained among the Micmac, required is only for one person to suggest, possibly only to the ethnologist, his suspician that "such and such" a woman has power which she might use or--after the fact--is said to have used when death or misfortune strikes the community, for the case to be regarded as witchcraft. Both the accuser and the accused (or suspected) receive benefits from their respective roles, the accuser in providing an answer why a particular misfortune occurs, the accused (or suspected) in receiving deferential treatment and aid for fear that the witch might otherwise retaliate and bring misfortune to the family which has neglected her. Witch fear among the Micmac serves as a collective response by the community to insure that elderly dependent females continue to be cared for by their communities. The structural position of the elderly dependent persons in Canadian society, whether French speaking or English speaking, in the 19th and early 20th centuries is similar, and I suggest provided the prototype for the Micmac living both in the Maritime provinces and Newfoundland. Barbeau (1920.215), Soeur Marie-Ursule (1951.192), Wintemberg (1918) and Fraser (n.d.52-56) provide numerous examples from the non-Indian Canadian community.

The treatment of elderly dependent persons in 17th and 18th century Micmac society is difficult to construe. Possibly such persons were rare. Unlike the itinerant beggar or peddler of 19th century Canada, most of the elderly Micmac were part of an extended family which felt responsible for their welfare.

John Gyles, the Maliseet observer at the end of the 17th century, nevertheless, provided insight for such a case among the southern neighbours of the Micmac (Drake 1855.90):

> There was an old squaw who ever endeavored to outdo all others in cruelty to captives. Wherever she came into a wigwam, where any poor, naked, starved captives were sitting near the fire, if they were grown persons, she would stealthily take up a shovel of hot coals, and throw them into their bosoms. If they were young persons, she would seize them by the hand or leg, drag them through the fire &c. The Indians with whom she lived, according to their custom, left their village in the fall of the year, and dispersed themselves for hunting. After the first or second removal, they all strangely forgot that old squaw and her grandson, about twelve years of age. They were found dead in the place where they were left some months afterwards, and no farther notice was taken of them by their friends. Of this the priest

made special remark, forasmuch as it is a thing very uncommon for them to neglect either their old or young people.

This observation by the pre-adolescent youth, John Gyles, can be interpreted in more than one way. Whatever the reason the late 17th century Maliseet might have given for this group decision, fear that the old woman would use supernatural retaliation was not likely the overriding concern. This example depicts Wabanaki society at a time prior to its wholesale adoption of European folk beliefs. Therefore, assuming that fear of supernatural retaliation (witchcraft) by the elderly female--a response to feeling neglected--is a European borrowing, Gyles is likely observing Wabanaki behaviour before it had been greatly influenced by European culture. Possibly, however, Gyles misinterpreted the situation or described a woman whose behaviour was so deviant in Maliseet eyes that the primary desire of the community was to be rid of her at any cost.

Nevertheless, if the Maliseet and Micmac value systems and belief in personal supernatural power approximated one another closely in the 17th century-a plausible assumption-there is reason to suggest that fear of supernatural intervention by the elderly female was not yet a part of the belief system.

Discussion

Is there a conflict of views expressed by the three of us? If so, can the conflict be resolved?

The writer sees close agreement between the data and interpretation presented by Martin and those presented by himself. The independently presented materials of each of us provide data which can be used to strengthen the argument of the other. Martin provides an explanation as to how the view of the Micmac witch developed in Newfoundland. I suggest, by extention, that this can apply to the contemporary Micmac view of the Micmac witch as well. In addition, I provide a functional interpretation of the role of the Micmac witch in the late 19th and early 20th centuries when older Micmac, especially the women, played a more dependent role in both the Micmac community and the white community. Taken together the two interpretations of Martin and myself mutually support one another and strengthen, if not verify, the assumption that the Micmac "buoin as witch" configuration has resulted from extensive Micmac assimilation of Euro-Canadian witch beliefs, adoption of similar roles by persons largely external to the active decision making members of the community, and finally from the merging of the two traditions whereby the Micmac has come to regard Euro-Canadian witch beliefs as if they were native ones. Members of the Micmac community undoubtedly adopted the view of witchcraft which the white community began to attribute to the Micmac buoin--that was the view of "buoin as witch"--and in the process incorporated the techniques of spell breaking and protection which are products of the European witch tradition. The Micmac buoin became increasingly more like the Euro-Canadian

witch because this was the role given to him by the white community and because it proved to be an effective way of making economic gain in the white community. In time this was adopted by the Micmac in their dealings with other Micmac. Information given by the informants of the Wallises (1955) and Johnson (1943) reveals that the Micmac believe that techniques of Euro-Canadian witchcraft, albeit regarded as Micmac by the Micmac, are effective in Micmac dealings with other Micmac.

McGee's view of contemporary Micmac supernatural belief extends far beyond the role of the buoin as witch. Nevertheless, the one case he gives in this genre is a fine example. The Wallises (1955.488) record almost an identical case. The medium of transportation becomes a horse and buggy, however, and the consequence is the horse dropping dead rather than the car becoming inoperative. A young Indian Island Micmac informant of Ruth Wallis in 1953 related an account even closer to the Cape Breton one given by McGee.

> At Big Cove there is an old woman buoin right now. If you meet her on the road in a car and don't pick her up, she will give a bad wish (Erickson 1978a and Smith 1954.53).

Failure of an aunt of the informant to pick up the woman led to her having a car accident the same day.

Similar examples of the two cases of soul flight are also to be found in the literature of the northeast. Speck (1919.288) records a case for the Penobscot and Teeter (1967.159-162) for the Maliseet, each of which requires that an assistant be present when the dreamer's soul leaves the body through the mouth on a reconnaissance flight. While the Penobscot and Maliseet examples are presented as legend, they do provide a precedent for the Micmac example which, as far as I know, had never before been recorded for that group.

The second example of soul flight, too, is possibly a first in Micmac literature. Similar cases, however, are available from the Celtic community in Nova Scotia. Fraser (n.d..52) writes, "it was a popular belief among the Celts that if you wished yourself anywhere at night you were sure to appear there."

The recounting of one parallel case will suffice (Fraser n.d..54-55):

> At Antigonish Harbor a young man named William was awakened at a late hour one stormy night by hearing his brother Dan, who was out at sea, come upstairs dressed in his oil skins, and enter his room. 'Is that you, Dan?' he asked. 'Yes,' came the reply. 'I've walked all the way from Cape George.' (A distance of eighteen miles). 'It's a pretty bad night and you must be tired. Turn right in here with me,' William said. When he saw his brother comfortably settled he went off to sleep again.

> The next morning when William awoke he was surprised to find that Dan had already arisen. He dressed hurriedly, went downstairs, and asked his sisters: 'Did you see Dan?' 'Dan?' they said. 'Did he come home?' 'Yes,' he answered, 'he came last night.' 'Well it is funny he didn't come near us,' they said.
>
> William went out to the barns, the shed, the shop, in fact every place that Dan might be, but could not find him. When he did not turn up by the afternoon, he began to realize that Dan's spirit only had visited him, and he became very uneasy; yet he did not want to alarm the family by telling the whole story.
>
> A fortnight later Dan actually came home. William, at the first opportunity, asked him if he wished to be home that very stormy night. He answered: 'Yes; when our schooner was rounding Cape George the waves were mountains high and we were in great danger. I wished with all my heart and soul to be on land, and I'd walk all the way home from the Cape.'

It is possible that the Micmac examples of soul flight long predate the 19th century and may, in fact, reveal a continuity of Micmac religious beliefs extending back to the 17th century. A final resolution of this question will come about only after a step by step analysis of Micmac soul flight beliefs is made either by looking at the earliest accounts and then working forward to the present, or beginning at the present and working back in time as far as the data will allow. The findings then must be compared with data available both on other native groups in the area and on those of the Euro-Canadians who, since the 17th century, have settled among the Micmac. Given the account presented above on Scottish beliefs in Nova Scotia, however, soul flight beliefs, like witchcraft, among the Micmac must be seen as having a significant overlay of European influences.

Conclusion

The Micmac retain a strong belief in the supernatural. Examples presented here have centered on some aspects of the belief in the soul, and on the existence of supernatural power. The 17th century Micmac believed in the existence of the soul and of the presence of various kinds of supernatural power, both personal and impersonal. European supernatural beliefs, both of the Great and the Little Traditions, too, emphasize the existence of the soul and of supernatural power. The argument as to whether present day Micmac beliefs reflect continuities with those of the 17th century or more recent Euro-Canadians borrowings may prove to be a meaningless question. Contemporary Micmac beliefs reflect both continuities and borrowings.

Micmac religion was and continues to be a dynamic and multiplex system of beliefs. Since European folk beliefs and aboriginal Micmac beliefs were based on like assumptions, it did not prove difficult, apparently, for the Micmac during the ensuing centuries to add embellishments derived from the treasure trove of folk beliefs brought by the European explorers and settlers. Interested scholars should continue to shift through the evidence and try to discover the derivation of Maritime beliefs as well as to analyse their assimilation.

An Overview of Recent Micmac Language Research and Development

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The purpose of this paper is to give you an overview of recent Micmac language research and development. Several trends in recent years have led to an awakening of interest in the Micmac language. Some of these trends include the following:

1) the establishment of cultural education centres in Indian communities,
2) the desire of Indian parents to preserve the Micmac language through the school system.

Location and Population of Micmac Communities in Eastern Canada

At this time I would like to point out on the map the location and population of Micmac communities in Eastern Canada. The Micmac community extends along the Gaspé Coast in Québec, and the Atlantic Seaboard and Northumberland Strait in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland.

In the Province of Québec there are two reserves:

	Reserve	Population
1)	Maria	550
2)	Restigouche	1,566
	Total	2,116

In the Province of New Brunswick there are nine reserves:

	Reserve	Population
1)	Eel River Bar	242
2)	Pabineau	58
3)	Burnt Church	738
4)	Eelground	356
5)	Red Bank	252
6)	Big Cove	1,249
7)	Indian Island	72
8)	Bouctouche	16
9)	Fort Folly	34
	Total	3,017

In the Province of Nova Scotia there are twelve reserves:

	Reserve	Population
1)	Truro	375
2)	Shubenacadie	955
3)	Annapolis Valley	162
4)	Bear River	112
5)	Acadia	349
6)	Afton	218

	Reserve	Population
7)	Pictou Landing	280
8)	Whycocomagh	385
9)	Wagmatcook	328
10)	Sydney	349
11)	Eskasoni	1,559
12)	Chapel Island	211
	Total	5,328

In the Province of Prince Edward Island there are two reserves:

	Reserve	Population
1)	Lennox Island	200
2)	Abegweit	130
	Total	330

In Newfoundland there is one Indian Community in the process of being established as a reserve:

	Reserve	Population
1)	Conne River	200

The approximate population in the Micmac Community in Eastern Canada is 11,000.

Retention of the Micmac Language for Adults and Children by Reserve

The following chart points out the extent to which the Micmac language is retained by adults and children in the Micmac community.

Province		Reserve	Adults	Children
Québec	1)	Maria	yes	yes
	2)	Restigouche	yes	yes
New Brunswick	1)	Eel River Bar	yes (20%)	no
	2)	Pabineau	no	no
	3)	Burnt Church	yes	yes
	4)	Eelground	yes	no
	5)	Red Bank	yes	no
	6)	Big Cove	yes	yes
	7)	Indian Island	yes	no
	8)	Bouctouche	yes	no
	9)	Fort Folly	no	no
Nova Scotia	1)	Truro	yes	no
	2)	Shubenacadie	yes (20%)	no
	3)	Annapolis Valley	no	no
	4)	Bear River	no	no
	5)	Acadia	no	no
	6)	Afton	yes	no
	7)	Pictou Landing	yes	yes
	8)	Whycocomagh	yes	yes
	9)	Wagmatcook	yes	yes
	10)	Sydney	yes	no
	11)	Eskasoni	yes	yes
	12)	Chapel Island	yes	yes
Prince Edward	1)	Lennox Island	yes (20%)	no
	2)	Abegweit	yes (10%)	no
Newfoundland)	1)	Conne River	yes(1 person)	no

As is apparent from this chart, the Micmac language is still very much alive in the adult Micmac Community, but there is a trend towards loss of language with the children.

Recent Development in the Micmac Writing System

In the past few years several scholars have been involved in the study of the Micmac writing system. The idea of a writing system for the Micmac language is not a new one, as the early missionaries developed a 13 letter orthography which was widely used in the earlier years and is still used to some extent today. Several scholars in Eastern Canada have attempted to modify or improve the traditional system.

The following is a chart indicating the use of the traditional and modified writing systems by Province:

Québec	1) Traditional system used by elders.
	2) Modified system developed by Metallic and Delisle of Manitou College.
	3) Modified system developed by Williams.
New Brunswick	1) Traditional system used by elders.
Nova Scotia	1) Traditional system used by elders.
	2) Modified system developed by Francis and Smith.

There is a common traditional writing system that is acceptable in all provinces and which is used by the Micmac elders. The modified systems proposed are all different from one another. Several attempts have been made to come to some agreement on the modified writing system, but with no success. This problem of conflicting writing systems has delayed progress in further developments as well as the full scale implementation of Micmac language programs in the schools.

Aspects de la néologie dénominative en montagnais[1]

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0. Le montagnais, comme le cri, possède la particule préverbale kā qui sert dans ces langues à former des composés verbaux.[2] Ellis (1960) en a mentionné pour le cri trois utilisations:

a) marqueur d'aspect perfectif
b) particule relative référant à un antécédent
c) particule relative référant à un endroit dans l'espace.

Le montagnais possède le même morphème dans les trois acceptions, et en l'occurrence les deux dernières servent à la formation productive de néologismes. Le kā du montagnais, comme dans le cas du cri, sous-catégorise le conjonctif dans le verbe qu'il précède.

I. Questions de productivité.

Le procédé de formation de néologismes auquel nous faisons référence est extrêmement productif en montagnais: il s'agit nommément de la possibilité de "substantiver" certains composés verbaux en kā + verbe. Nous essaierons ici de décrire les différents types de néologismes auxquels correspond cette description interne pour en souligner certains des aspects inusités.

Nous disions que ce procédé était productif; nous avons pour notre part relevé autour de 160 néologismes lexicalisés et notre relevé est sans aucun doute bien en deçà de la réalité. En surcroît, notre expérience de la langue montagnaise nous a appris qu'il est possible de former de manière spontanée à partir de la même construction une foule de noms et de surnoms pour désigner les individus. Potentiellement, ces formes sont en nombre illimité, et leur lecture est sémantiquement transparente. Par exemple,

(1) kā wāp^šīt ts^k^t^kuš^nu wāp^ll^t
"kāwāp^šīt" arriver (futur) demain (obviatif)
kāwāp^šīt = kā + wāp^šī + t = celle qui est blanche
kā particule préverbale relative
wāp^šī- radical du verbe AI etre blanc
-t désinence de la 3e pers. sing. du conjonctif des verbes AI

signifie: 'kāwāp^šīt (celle qui est blanche de peau) arrivera demain'. Distributionnellement, kāwāp^šīt se comporte ici comme un substantif en ce qu'il est argument du verbe 'arriver' qui est marqué à la 3e personne du singulier en accord avec son sujet. Ce type de formation néologique est extrêmement fréquent comme nous l'avons déjà dit, nous en examinerons maintenant les différents aspects.

2. Les constructions à base de kā + verbe AI (Tableau I)

2.1 Cette construction sert d'abord et avant tout à former

des noms de métier ou d'occupation habituelle ainsi que toute une panoplie potentielle de surnoms et de sobriquets; exceptionnellement, on retrouvera sous cette rubrique des noms d'objets qui, pour une raison ou pour une autre, sont de genre animé.

2.2 Ces composés verbaux se comportent à plusieurs égards comme des noms; nous en voulons pour preuve ces quelques arguments.

2.2.1 Partout où cela a du sens de le faire, il est possible de dériver la forme possessive de ces noms.

(2) mon cuisinier nʌkāpʌmʌnweš̄īm

On sait qu'en montagnaise le possessif est formé par l'ajoût d'un préfixe de personne, ici nʌ pour la première personne, et la suffixation d'un morphème de possession (ʌ)m[3] à un substantif.

2.2.2 Tout comme dans la phrase (1), le composé kā + verbe se comporte dans la phrase comme argument du verbe.

2.2.3 On forme le diminutif des noms en montagnais en ajoutant īss à ceux qui terminent sur une consonne et ss à ceux qui terminent sur une voyelle. Les formes dont nous parlons ici construisent leurs diminutifs de la même manière.

(3) la jeune fille skwess
(4) la fillette skwessīss
(5) cuisinier kāpʌmʌnwes
(6) petit cuisinier kāpʌmʌnweš̄īss

2.2.4 Les formes en kā + verbe AI peuvent servir à la formation de verbes "d'état" par l'ajoût de la finale verbale ū, et ce, comme c'est le cas pour n'importe quel autre nom.

(7) orignal mūš
(8) je suis un orignal nʌmūšūn
(9) je suis un cuisinier nʌkāpʌmʌnweš̄īūn

2.2.5 En montagnais, on peut, par dérivation secondaire, former des noms à partir du radical de noms déjà existants en y ajoutant une finale nominale telle que -škwew 'femme' par exemple.

(10) médeçin nʌtʌkulʌš
(11) femme-médeçin nʌtʌkulʌšīškwew
(12) cuisinière kāpʌmʌnweš̄īškwew

2.3 Les formes que nous avons données au tableau I terminent pour la plupart en s; il existe en effet en montagnais de Betsiamites une alternance morphophonologique qui réduit les agrégats š+ʌt ou š̄ʌ+t en finale de mot à s.[4] En effet, bien que le pluriel des noms animés soit ʌt, on

aura comme plutiel de mīnūš 'chat' la forme mīnūs et nom *mīnūšʌt. De la même manière, le conjonctif troisième personne du singulier des verbes AI est t; toutefois, dans le cas de verbes dont le radical termine en šʌ, la forme conjonctive exhibera la troncation:

(13) il est malade ākušʌ + w → ākušu
(14) il n'est pas malade ākušʌ + t → ākus

Les formes en s du tableau I seraient les dérivés morphologiques de formes en kā + radical AI + š+ʌ+t. D'autre part, dans presque tous les cas, et à titre variable, la forme neutre (3e sing. proche)[5] alterne chez mes informateurs avec ou sans le š. Ainsi 'fleuriste' se dira tantôt kāwāpukuntset tantôt kāwāpukuntses. Cependant, dans tous les cas les dérivés morphologiques sont formés avec le morphème š dont il semble qu'il soit la caractéristique des composés verbaux substantivés:

(15) électricien kāwāstenʌmāntses ou kāwāstenʌmāntset
(16) mon électricien nʌkāwāstenʌmāntsešīm
(17) les électriciens kāwāstenʌmāntsešʌt
(18) électricien (forme obviative) kāwāstenʌmāntsešʌl

Il est intéressant de noter que ce š n'est utilisé productivement que dans la dérivation des noms de métier.[6] D'autre part, on ne peut affirmer que ce šʌ fasse partie du radical du verbe. Ainsi dans 'cuisinier' kāpʌmʌnweššʌt prononcé kāpʌmʌnwes, le radical du verbe s'il était pʌmʌnwešʌ devrait signifier 'cuisiner habituellement ou par métier', pourtant pʌmʌnwešu signifie 'il cuisine plutôt mal ou comme un débutant'. En d'autre termes à l'indépendant, le š est le morphème du diminutif homophone d'ailleurs au péjoratif. D'où la possibilité d'une lecture ambigue pour tous les termes de métier qui peuvent signifier soit:

a) 'celui qui fait le métier de X'
b) 'un jeune débutant qui fait X'
c) 'celui qui fait mal X'

Cependant, ces 3 acceptions ont une histoire dérivationnelle différente: dans les interprétations diminutives et péjoratives les formes en kā sont formées à partir du radical verbal augmenté d'une finale péjorative ou diminutive: kă + pʌmʌnwešʌ + t tandis dans le cas des noms de métier le š fait partir d'une couche dérivationnelle différente: kā + pʌmʌnwe + š + ʌ+t.

3. Les constructions à base de kā + verbe II (Tableau II)[7]

3.1 Sur le même modèle que les exemples donnés au point 2, un substantif, inanimé cette fois, est formé par conversion d'un composé verbal kā + verbe II. Ainsi, à partir du verbe intransitif inanimé šūtsʌšīmʌkʌn 'c'est fort', par préposition de la particule relative kā on forme un composé verbal: kāšūtsʌšīmʌkʌt 'ce qui est fort'. La conversion de

nominalisation change la catégorie et lexicalise ce terme qui signifie maintenant 'alcool'.

3.2 Quelques preuves du statut nominal.

3.2.1 Toutes les formes peuvent prendre le possessif.

3.2.2 Toutes peuvent également prendre le morphème de diminutif des noms.

3.2.3 Dans une phrase, ces éléments fonctionnent comme arguments du verbe.

3.2.4 Il est possible en montagnais de convertir n'importe quel nom X en un verbe signifiant 'avoir ou posséder X':

(19) une chaufferette kā + tsiš^tet prononcé kātš^tet
(20) ma chaufferette kātš^tem
(21) j'ai une chaufferette nūkātš^temān

4. Les formes à base de kā (particule désignant un endroit dans l'espace) + verbe (animé intransitif). Tableau III.

4.1 Toutes les formes à base de particule locative ont le verbe conjugué avec un sujet indéfini et désignent des noms de lieu. Ainsi, 'patinoire' kāšūškātjānūt signifie littéralement 'là où l'on patine'.

4.2 Indices du statut nominal.

4.2.1 Comme n'importe quel substantif, ces formes peuvent prendre le suffixe de possession:

(22) ma patinoire n^kāšūškātjānīm
(23) ma salle de danse n^kānīm^nānīm
(24) mon lavabo n^kāstāpūts^kwānīm

4.2.2 Ces substantifs fonctionnent également comme arguments du verbe et, en dernier lieu, peuvent être convertis en verbe de possession comme les autres noms:

(25) tu as un bain tsukāstāpūltīš^nānīm^n

5. Il existe également un petit nombre de formes à base de verbes transitif inanimé conjugués avec un sujet indéfini.[8]

(26) radio kān^t^tān
(27) télévision kātsītāp^tān
(28) tiroir kālāss^p^tān

Toutes les formes mentionnées sous cette rubrique partagent les caractéristiques énumérées plus haut pour déterminer le statut nominal de ce type de formes.

6. Examen de certaines formes résiduelles.
Nous avons relevé de nombreux cas de composés nomimaux

lâches qui ne doivent se voir accorder le statut de lexème que dans le sens le plus large. Ces composés sont néonmoins lexicalisés et formés sur le modèle suivant: kā + verbe + nom, dont voici quelques exemples:

(29) sac de couchage kākul∧stānūt špᴧšᴧmun
(30) béret kātekᴧlepus kunᴧškwewn
(31) réfrigérateur kātᴧkāt tsistwālākᴧn
(32) accordéon kāšīpᴧssᴧpᴧtākᴧn tāwpīkᴧn

En aucun cas ces composés ne se comportent-ils comme des noms tel que dans les constructions étudiées plus haut. Ce type de formation a néanmoins ceci d'intéressant que pour certains de nos informateurs le nom peut être supprimé. Pour certains, 'réfrigérateur' se dira 'kātᴧkāt', d'autres diront uniquement 'kātekᴧlepus' pour 'béret' et ainsi de suite. Dans ces cas, les lexèmes qu'ils utilisent se comportent comme des noms au sens des chapîtres précédents. Cette variation lexicale nous paraît intéressante en ce qu'elle illustre sans doute un des mécanismes de formation des néologismes en montagnais. Dans une première étape, on utilise un nom générique pour désigner l'objet suivi d'une certaine description de l'objet désigné. Ainsi, 'sac de couchage' signifie littéralement 'le matelas dans lequel on s'insère'; 'béret', 'le chapeau qui est comme une crêpe'; 'réfrigérateur', 'l'armoire qui est froide'; 'accordéon', 'instrument de musique qu'on étire'. Dans une deuxième étape, ce composé lâche peut se voir amputé du nom générique et l'élément verbal prend alors certaines des caractéristiques morphologiques et distributionnelles des noms. Le nouveau substantif garde cependant les caractéristiques inhérentes au terme de base du syntagme d'origine même après que le terme générique ait été écarté. Les items lexicaux de (33), (34) et (35) sont tous animés en genre:

(33) je vois l'aspirateur nwāpᴧmāw kāutᴧtset
(34) je vois la balayeuse nwāpᴧmāw kāpūtātset
(35) je vois la polisseuse nwāpᴧmāw kāwāšāwškuteik

Leur genre animé leur provient de ce qu'ils étaient auparavan utilisé avec le générique 'balai' tsᴧšīken pour désigner ces objets. Or, le mot pour 'balai' est de genre animé en montagnais. Certains locuteurs emploient encore les formes syntagmatiques pour les termes de (33) à (35).

7. Nous discuterons maintenant certains aspects particuliers révélés par l'analyse des néologismes présentés plus haut.

7.1 Regardons tout d'abord les formes des points 4. et 5. où l'élément de base du composé est un verbe AI ou TI avec sujet indéfini. On a traditionnellement considéré les morphèmes tels que ānu et ākᴧn comme des marques flexionnelles thématiques indiquant un sujet indéfini. Chez les auteurs, on en discute en général sous la rubrique "verb inflection". La catégorie flexionnelle est

généralement comprise comme le regroupement des marqueurs grammaticaux tels le genre, le nombre, le temps, le mode, le cas, l'aspect, la personne etc... Cependant, les frontières entre la morphologie flectionnelle et la morphologie dérivationnelle sont souvent floues et on assiste dans certains cas à un brouillage de celles-ci. Par ailleurs, on tient généralement pour acceptée une contrainte sur la concaténation des morphèmes qui veut que les morphèmes flexionnels encadrent les morphèmes dérivationnels dans le mot et non l'inverse.[9] Or, si on considère les marqueurs de sujet indéfini comme des morphèmes flexionnels, des formes comme celles de (36) et (37) violent cette contrainte.

(36) j'ai un bain nūkāstāpūltīšʌnānīmʌn
(37) petit gymnase kāmetwānūs ou kāmetwānīs

En effet, dans (36) les deux n initial et final sont respectivement la marque du sujet de première personne des verbes et la terminaison des verbes AI pour un sujet de 3e personne du singulier. Par ailleurs, le ʌ qui précède le n final est une finale verbale abstraite qui forme des verbes animés intransitifs; c'est un morphème dérivationnel dans la mesure ou il assigne à une racine (ici à un radical) une catégorie lexicale propre. Nous pouvons également montrer que le possessif est dérivationnel en montagnais.[10] En (37), le morphème du diminutif est également dérivationnel. Une contrainte aussi forte que celle touchant à la concaténation dans le mot des marques flexionnelles et dérivationnelles ne se laisse pas balayer du revers de la main. C'est à dire qu'il nous incombe de prouver que les marqueurs de sujet indéfini ne sont pas des morphèmes flexionnels si l'on veut voir la contrainte maintenue. Ce travail dépasse largement le cadre du présent exposé mais il y a certes là matière à réflexion intéressante.

8. Implications de nos recherches pour les théories récentes sur la formation des mots.

Les propositions récentes qui ont été faites par Mark Aronoff (1976.21) pour rendre compte dans le cadre de la grammaire générative des procédés de formation des mots prévoient que ces règles s'appliquent à l'intérieur du lexique de la façon suivante:

> All regular word-formation processes are word-based. A new word is formed by applying a regular rule to a single already existing one. Both the new word and the existing one are members of major lexical categories.

Ce qui suit vise à montrer que cette hypothèse est en partie fausse pour le montagnais et qu'elle n'est donc pas une contrainte universelle sur les mécanismes de formation des mots. Nous montrerons que les items lexicaux que l'on a traité jusqu'ici comme des substantifs en raison de certains critères morphologiques précis pourraient également être considérés comme des verbes si l'on invoque

d'autres critères morphologiques. Pour cette raison, on ne peut affirmer à quelle catégorie lexicale majeure appartient l'item lexical nouvellement formé. En effet, la forme proche (non-obviative) des lexèmes est fléchie comme un vrai verbe et il en va de même pour la forme obviative.[11] Réexaminons nos formes à partir d'exemples tirés des différents groupes.

a) La forme proche

cuisinier	kāpm^nwes	de kāp^m^nweš^t
chaufferette	kāts^š^tet	
cuisine	kāp^m^nwānūt	

Dans les trois cas, le t final est bien celui du conjonctif de la troisième personne du singulier des verbes AI et II. Or, ce t final n'existe pas en tant que flexion nominale si ce n'est pour le pluriel des noms animés (dont il ne saurait s'agir dans le cas présent). Cette marque flexionnelle saute cependant si on ajoute à l'item lexical un suffixe dérivationnel comme on l'a vu plus haut.

b) La forme obviative

cuisinier	kāpm^nweš^l	de kāp^m^nweš^lt
chaufferette	kātš^tel	de kāts^š^telt
cuisine	kāpm^nwānūl	de kāp^m^nwānūlt

Le l final est celui du conjonctif des verbes AI et II; il ne correspond en rien à une flexion nominale, l'obviatif des noms animés étant ^[12] et celui des noms inaminés lu.

9. Conclusion

Nous avons étudié pour le montagnais une classe de néologismes dont le statut lexical est ambigu. Bien que se comportant dérivationnellement comme des noms, ces formes prennent néanmoins des flexions verbales à la forme neutre et à l'obviatif. L'existence de ces formes démontre ce qu'affirme Mark Aronoff, que les néologismes ne se voient pas toujours assigner d'emblée à leur création par les règles lexicales une étiquette syntaxique'' claire.

TABLEAU I

Ces tableaux visent à donner un échantillon représentatif plutôt qu'un lexique complet des formes que nous avons relevées.

fleuriste kāwāpukuntses

électricien kāwāsten^māntses

administrateur kāt^kwītses

peintre kāpešītses

servant de messe kān^pānwes

clown kāwītel^tākus

comédien kāmātāupukutās

vendeur kāītāwes

arpenteur kāt^pītses

livreur kāutāpes

débardeur kāpustās

héros d'un film kāpukutās

employé de moulin à scie kātāss^putāntses

pâtissier kātāpātetses

avocat, juge kāīm^t

chirurgien kāmāt^šāwes

entrepreneur de pompes gunèbres kān^kwāškāntset

secrétaire kām^š^nītses

pêcheur kāīkusses

musicien kātāwpekītses

boulanger kāpukweš^k^ntses

journaliste kāt^pāts^mūm^š^nīk^ntses

TABLEAU II

perron, galerie kāp^p^stukūt

frigidaire kāt^kāt

ruban de soie kālīpās

dynamite kām^twet^t

alcool kāšūts^šīm^k^t

tracteur kāšūts^šīt

sécheuse kāpāš^tsep^l

crème glacée kāt^kās

flanelle kāwāpek^s

banane kāwākāškw^t

balayeuse kāpūtātset

bombe kāpākāk^tet

jello kān^n^m^p^l^s

bile kāwīšāuwāt

machine à écrire, télex kām^š^nītsep^l

laveuse kāwāpekītsep^l

chaufferette kātš^tet

poêle kātsāp^stes

TABLEAU III

gymnase kāmetwānūt	piscine kāp^kāš^munānūt
téléphone kāīmītnānūt	lavabo kāstāputs^kwānūt
bar kām^nānūt	cinéma kāmātāwpukutānūt
cuisine kāpm^nwānūt	bain kāstāpūltīš^nānūt
patinoire kāšūškātjānūt	arène de boxe kāūttāmītsānūt
salle de danse kānīm^nānūt	arène de lutte kāmássānūt

NOTES

[1] Cette recherche a été subventionnée en partie par le Fonds Institutionnel de l'UQAM. Nos données portent sur le montagnais parlé à Betsiamites. Nous remercions Pierrette St-Onge et Angèle Bacon pour les heures qu'elles ont passées à répondre à nos questions harassantes.

[2] Cet exposé est un condensé d'une partie des travaux en préparation pour notre thèse de 3e cycle. Nous renvoyons à ce texte pour une analyse plus fouillée de nos données.

[3] Que tous les néologismes étudiés, sans exception, prennent la marque du possessif nous donne à penser qu'en montagnais la façon productive de former le possessif est toujours d'ajouter le rétrofixe et que les formes qui n'en prennent pas sont bien celles qui font exception et non l'inverse.

[4] En fait il ne s'agit pas à proprement parler d'une seule règle mais de plusieurs; d'abord une règle qui fait tomber les voyelles brèves entre consonnes homorganiques puis l'application des règles d'assimilation des consonnes.

[5] En anglais: 'proximate', selon les catégories traditionnelles des algonquinistes.

[6] Nous l'avons retrouvé de façon très sporadique dans les formes dérivées de certains néologismes du Tableau II. A chaque fois nos informateurs semblaient incertains des formes exactes et la forme en s̲ était corrigée dans une vérification subséquente.

[7] Toutes les formes de ce tableau terminent en t̲ (conjonctif) au niveau sous-jacent. En surface, celles qui terminent en s̲ le font pour la même raison qu'au Tableau I, bien que cette fois le s̲ soit celui du diminutif. Par ailleurs, les formes en l̲ final sont le résultat de l'application d'une règle d'assimilation de t̲ lorsque celui-ci est précédé de n̲ ou l̲ en finale de mot.

[8] Ces formes sont le résultat de l'application de 2 règles

distinctes:
a) une règle d'alternance morphologique qui réduit facultativement les séquences $\bar{V}$+k^n à $\bar{V}$n.
Ex: verre m^nān ou m^nāk^n
télévision kātsītāp^tāk^n ou kātsītāp^tān
b) la règle d'assimilation mentionnée en note 7 qui assimile le t final du conjonctif, celui-ci étant précédé du n du radical verbal.

[9] Cette contrainte a récemment été reprise par Aronoff (1976) et par Siegal (1974) qui la tient comme émanant de l'organisation même de la grammaire, les morphèmes flexionnels étant dominés par le noeud $\bar{X}$ alors que les morphèmes dérivationnels, eux, seraient dominés par X.

[10] Pour un traitement plus détaillé voir mon article dans le prochain numéro des Cahiers de linguistique de l'Université du Québec qui portera sur les langues amérindiennes au Québec (à paraître en 78).

[11] Le pluriel cependant est formé sur le modèle des noms et comporte plusieurs complications morphophonologiques qui dépassent le cadre de cet exposé.

[12] Les voyelles brèves sont tronquées en finale de mot à Betsiamites, et elles sont remplacées par un allongement compensatoire de la voyelle finale et une modification du contour d'intonation.

[13] Notre traduction de l'expression anglaise "syntactic labelling".

The Probability of Family Hunting Territories in Eighteenth Century James Bay: Old Evidence Newly Presented

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Introduction

The discussion of family hunting territories has been around in the anthropological literature for some sixty-odd years, ever since Speck initiated it in 1915. His claim that this northern Algonquian system of land-tenure pre-dates the arrival of the Europeans (1923.459) has ensured its place in the literature for yet some time to come. As the nature of the problem is one of time or origin, the evidence on which any such discussion is based has to be historical. The relatively recent systematic study of archival records by anthropologists has and should continue to generate new interest and new evidence. However historical data alone is insufficient to answer the question of the age of family hunting territories as it is not a subject with which early explorers or traders were familiar or interested. Even direct statements by such men concerning the practice of individually owned hunting tracts of land must be greeted skeptically as they may well have been seeing and describing social conventions of the Algonquian people in terms familiar to themselves, or measuring these practices against their own concepts. Private ownership of land was, of course, highly institutionalized in European society.

The lack of reliable and conclusive historical evidence does not make such an inquiry impossible. Previously, anthropologists who did not have access to the archival records had to argue their case on logical grounds; for instance, whether a specific practice was feasible given the wider social context. Thus, much of this literature focuses on the various features making up the configuration termed the "family hunting territory system". It is due to the extensive examination of the subject and the creative thinking of the previous writers that we today have an excellent basis for further exploring the issue. I do not intend this paper as a forum for criticizing the earlier studies just because I have had access to new historical data which they did not. Hopefully, I am using their findings in the manner in which they were offered - as a means of advancing our knowledge. Thus this paper combines anthropological reasoning and historical evidence. It does so to examine the length of time a family hunting territory system has operated in eastern James Bay (Québec). However its main concern is to demonstrate one way in which ethno-historical analyses can be flushed out from the historical data, data that by itself is not particularly informative.

As the question of family hunting territories has not only a long and relatively productive history in the anthropological literature but one that is presumably well-known, I will refrain from reviewing the issues.

Suffice it to say that the concept of "family hunting territories", as it has come to be known in the literature, refers to a flexible system of land tenure in which individuals or small family units are considered to own the rights to specific animal resources of a particular tract of land over which they annually hunt. Furthermore they have the right to transfer this ownership either temporarily or permanently as through inheritance. All the anthropologists agree that those northeastern Indians who hunted or trapped non-migratory fur bearing animals such as beaver have had such a system of land tenure at least in this century.

Speck and his supporters in the 1930's argued for a pre-Columbian origin while Jenness (1932) and Bailey (1937) rejected this notion, seeing it as a consequence of the European fur trade. They were supported by Leacock in the 1950's in the first study to challenge thoroughly Speck's arguments. In it she concluded that family hunting territories were of relatively recent origin dating from the time of the introduction of store-purchased foods. Since then Rogers (1963) and Bishop (1970, 1974) (the first one to apply archival data to this problem) found in each of their research areas evidence to push back the beginnings of a family hunting territory system to the late and middle parts, respectively, of the nineteenth century. For both, the fur trade was still viewed as the major external factor though each specified specific causes.

As early as 1915 Speck labelled the land tenure system we are discussing as a "family hunting territory" system and the name has stuck although most recognize it as less than satisfactory. As Tanner (1973.105) and others have pointed out it is actually an individual who is considered owner of a territory and not a group of kinsmen. Moreover it need not be a family in the sense of closely related individuals who hunt over this land. My own research in the James Bay area has shown this to be true in times past as well (Morantz 1977a.22). Tanner has also set the discussion in proper perspective when he emphasizes, as have others, that the land per se was not owned but the rights to the resources of that particular tract were. The hunting territory is, in Tanner's view, a "unit of management" (1973.112). Having acknowledged the modern thinking on these subjects I now return, to avoid confusion, to the old manner of expressing this social phenomenon.

Problems with the Archival Sources

My own interest in this issue results from my endeavours to reconstruct, or perhaps more accurately phrased, construct a reasonable facsimile of the social organization of the Cree of eastern James Bay of the eighteenth through to the middle-nineteenth centuries. The data on which my analysis is based comes almost exclusively from the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company. The difficulties faced by researchers trying to probe anthropological type questions from the daily records of an economic enterprise are well recognized. However, there is an additional

complication in working with these records in that there occurs in the early part of the nineteenth century a shift towards more detailed reporting. This was due to a combination of factors. Once the Hudson's Bay Company gained a near-monopoly situation in 1821 it was able to insist, with some success, on each hunter confining his trading to a specific post thereby enabling the trader to become more familiar with each man's hunting practices. The traders, too, were by this period much more knowledgeable of Indian lifestyles as by this time many of the company employees were "country born", that is, of Indian-British parentage. Beginning in 1814 and lasting until 1840, the head office of the company in London began requiring detailed information on all aspects of the trade, including background information on the hunters. These reports were submitted annually as district reports and are, by comparison with the other records, veritable gold-mines of anthropological information. The problem is that all of a sudden in 1814 subjects are discussed that hitherto were not, and there is a danger that certain practices might come to be recognized as dating only from that time.

The first year of the district reports, 1814, seems to have been in response to some sort of questionnaire as each new subject discussed bears the same number in each of the district reports submitted. The three James Bay reports of this year - Moose Fort (west coast of James Bay), Neoskweskau and Eastmain, all give an account of the Indians' notions of hunting territories. For example, the Neoskweskau district report, covering the inland posts of Neoskweskau, Nichikun, Rush Lake (the modern Lake Chevrillon) and Nemiscau, contains the following comments from James Clouston, the district chief. He reports:

> They are no ways rigorous in claiming an exclusive right to particular grounds. An industrious habit [sic] may hunt on all his neighbours grounds. They may when intoxicated remonstrate and give him a blow or so which is the farthest I have know.
> (B.143/e/1:3)

This reference to individually owned grounds, albeit ones that are not too rigorously claimed, as well as similar references from Moose and Eastmain, are the first pointed statements in the James Bay records on individual hunting grounds. Nine years later in the Rupert House district report of 1823, Joseph Beioley returns to the subject and makes these comments:

> much less do I suppose that if intimated to them they would submit to any assumed authority to remove them from their own lands to others against their own wills. It appears to me that the Coast Indians and the majority of the Inland Indians who visit Ruperts House are tenacious of their property in their lands and are not pleased when other Indians encroach on them.
> (B.186/e/5:9d)

Thereafter, similarly clearly stated references appear periodically up to 1870, the end of the period under study.

The question one must ask then is whether the year 1814 marks the first appearance in fact of some notion by the James Bay Cree of individually owned hunting territories or whether 1814 is merely the year of their being recorded. Since one could hardly assume the non-existence of a social feature by its non-appearance in the historical records, I decided to explore the possibility of the presence of family hunting territories in the eighteenth century in eastern James Bay using those features selected by anthropologists as comprising the family hunting territory system.

Pattern of Resource Exploitation

One of the earliest features isolated by Speck (1915.61) was the correlation between family hunting territories and the harvesting of sedentary fur bearing animals, particularly beaver, a position developed more clearly in his later writings with Eiseley (1939.273) and a position shared also by Cooper (1939.86). No one disputes this relationship though many question these men's claims that the beaver figured so predominantly in the Indians' lives in pre-contact times, to the extent that a territorial system developed around the exploitation of these animals. What was the pattern of exploitation in eastern James Bay in the eighteenth century?

Bishop (1974.265-6, 269) in his study of the interior Ontario northland found that in the eighteenth century the Ojibwa population's "primary source of food was throughout most of the year big game, moose and caribou" which enabled the people to spend the winter in relatively large communal hunting groups numbering between twenty and thirty-five individuals. There is no evidence to support such a pattern of exploitation in eastern James Bay. First of all, moose were not in the area at all though woodland caribou were definitely present, much to the annoyance of the Hudson's Bay Company traders. Repeatedly in the records, the traders deplore the fact that the James Bay Indians pursue deer, i.e. caribou, and ignore beaver hunting. One such lament was written by Thomas Mitchell, the postmaster at Eastmain House in 1745:

> Came in hear from ye Northward 16 Indians Small & great....& Brought a Great Quantity of Dears flesh...But very few furrs som 3 or 4 Beaver & some none at all for if ya Com Light of Dear thay will not look for any other kind of beast But when Dear Canot be Light of thay Go in Land & kill Beaver & what ya Bring of furr Kiend is commonly very Good.
>
> (B.59/a/12:22d)

This statement, along with others, informs us caribou were hunted when available but that they were not always available. In fact, unlike northern Ontario, the eastern James Bay area throughout the eighteenth century cannot

be characterized as providing food and clothing in abundance. With regularity, beginning in 1736 when the Eastmain journals commenced, one finds reports of starvation and death in several or all the sectors of the James Bay region. Comments appear such as these ones. In 1738 two homeguard Indians reported that "one of theire tent-mats had parisht - three days a goo with hunger & cold" (B.59/a/2:17a). In 1778 Atkinson inscribed in his journal "such a year has our Norwd & Homeguard Indians had that I fancy never was known for Hunger & scarcity of small furs" (B.59/a/64:22d) while in July of 1783 he was sickened by the sight of twenty-nine canoes arriving filled with starving men and he remarked, "but so shocking a sight I never did see nor wish to see again...Some of them is dead since they came here" (B.59/b/2:12d). Reports such as these cannot be quantified to determine the level of resources available from 1730 to 1800 but these and many other similar entries in the journals do indicate the food supply was not stable.

With reference to Mitchell's comments, earlier quoted, regarding the availability of caribou resulting in a rejection of beaver, it might be illuminating to look at the fur returns for that year. In 1745 a total of 1,520 whole beaver pelts were traded at Eastmain and 2,350 marten skins, to give the figures for the two most important James Bay furs (B.3/d/53:15d). The fur returns for that year were higher than in the preceding few years but less than the next few. They were not extraordinary returns given that there were annual fluctuations. These furs were brought in by approximately sixty inlanders and twenty coasters. So, in spite of Mitchell's complaints, the furs produced by the Indians were considerable,[2] despite the abundance of caribou north of Eastmain that year.

A recent study of the caribou population of James Bay has located three zones of concentration where the woodland caribou winter: one between Fort George and Lake Bienville, another in the lower reaches of the Nottoway, Broadback and Rupert River basins and a third north of Lake Mistassini to Lake Caniapiscau (Brassard and Audet 1976.598-99). It seems reasonable to assume these regions were also historic wintering grounds for the woodland caribou. Thus two of the caribou populations are located eastward and inland of Eastmain at not overly great distances. Therefore one should expect that if caribou were plentiful throughout most of the eighteenth century the inlanders would not have been major fur producers, given that they ceased looking for furs when caribou were available. Yet, in 1747 the Eastmain postmaster wrote to London that "the Chiefest of our trade Comes from ye Et.ward...." (B.59/a/14:15d) and later trade figures substantiate this assessment. It is also worth mentioning that the James Bay Indians had access only to woodland caribou which, unlike the barren ground variety, gather in small bands of only ten to fifteen individuals and thus are not hunted in large numbers.

From the evidence it seems reasonable to conclude that the eighteenth century James Bay Cree were not large game hunters to the exclusion of fur bearing animals and that

the latter in fact formed a significant part of their economy. They might have preferred caribou but the environment did not permit them to be such exclusive hunters. Amongst the Wabanaki, Snow determined from archaeological evidence that the "beaver and other sedentary fauna were of considerable importance aboriginally" and that the fur trade intensified this hunting pattern (1968.1145). To date the archaeologists working in James Bay are not yet able to make such conclusive statements. However they are finding a higher ratio of beaver bone to caribou, though one must keep in mind the possibility that caribou and other bone were disposed of in another manner (James Chism, pers. comm.). It is possible then that Snow's conclusions might someday be shown to be applicable to eastern James Bay as well.

The scarcity of all food resources which resulted in the people's increasing dependency on small sedentary animals and a decline in their mobility are occurrences which took place in much of the Hudson's Bay Company's domain in the early part of the nineteenth century. It happened in James Bay, too, though the degree of starvation does not seem as desperate as Bishop (1974.212-13) found in northern Ontario, nor was the decline in furs produced as great. Although this scarcity and decreased mobility is suggested by some as initiating the development of the individually owned hunting territories, this need not be the case if the people were already involved in the harvesting of sedentary game. The changed economic conditions may have solidified this social phenomenon; it need not have launched the development of such a system.

Size of Co-resident al Groups

Bishop (1974.269) also found that because large game and not beaver was the mainstay of the northern Ontario economy, the Ojibwa were able to winter in relatively large groups of twenty to thirty-five individuals. Again in this regard the eighteenth century records are not too informative. Although this was the period of trading captains arriving at the post with trading gangs of sometimes up to twenty-two men, I have argued elsewhere (Morantz 1977b.87) these were probably task-oriented groups which came together for the purpose of trading and once done these gangs disbanded until the following spring. For example, one year (1781) Captain Suck,e,pe,twan,ish complained that he could not find some of his gang (B.59/a/56:24) and a similar complaint was made by a Mistassini leader in 1790 (B.59/a/66:31d). Many years captains who had previously come to Eastmain with large gangs arrived with only a few men and accordingly a diminished supply of furs, a not too likely occurrence if the gangs had been wintering together.

In conducting ethnohistorical analyses one has to be extremely cautious about employing a single quote to support a point. However I believe this one is instructive particularly since the Englishman is, in part, quoting an Indian informant. It dates back to 1755 and is a report of a conversation the Eastmain postmaster, John Longland, had with the homeguard captain, Jack Copodgeye:

> Did I not Come for Skins Yes I Told him then I must Go where I can Gott them for if we stay a Good many to gather you will Gott no skins and I find that to be True for where there is 3 or 4 famelys in one Tent they Do nothing but Contrive for there Belley & not Look out for furrs.
>
> (B.59/a/23:3d)

Is it not possible that in this conversation Longland is using "3 or 4 famelys in one Tent" as reflecting a kind of upper limit to express the other extreme? This would represent, at an average of five persons per family, about fifteen to twenty individuals so that in fact a smaller number were preferable for hunting fur bearers. That "fur hunting" by 1755 occupied a relatively important place in the James Bay economy has already been demonstrated by the fur return figures given for 1745. It is conceivable that even then the winter hunting group, that is the co-residential group, functioned in small groups involving two adult men when they were hunting and trapping fur bearing animals. They would have joined forces with another such group or groups in late winter in order to hunt caribou. Co-residential groups of a single household or two households (usually father and son combinations) were in another analysis found to be the usual composition in the 1830's when the historical evidence is more definite (Morantz 1977a.20). One cannot definitely claim this as the nature of the social organization in the 1700's but it seems to be the type that best accords with the scant data there are on the subject.

Degree of Involvement in Fur Trade

Both Rogers and Leacock in their separate analyses view involvement in the fur trade, that crucial factor creating the development of individualized hunting tracts, as a relatively late occurrence. Rogers (1963.84), in his study of the Mistassini of the James Bay region explains it this way:

> At the time of contact all natural resources were considered free goods, but in the nineteenth century, furs came to be considered the property of the individual hunter and furbearers the property of the hunting group. That rights to certain resources came into existence is correlated with the highly evolved fur trade of the late nineteenth century, when increasing numbers of furs were exchanged for trade goods. The hunter considered trade goods individual property and extended the concept to include furs by means of which trade goods were secured.

Thus, according to Rogers, as involvement in the fur trade increased then did the concept of private ownership evolve, a late nineteenth century development. However the evidence for the James Bay region indicates that the Cree

involvement in the fur trade was significant already in the mid-eighteenth century. Earlier, trade figures for 1745 were given indicating that fur trading does not seem to have been viewed by many of the Indians as entirely incidental to their way of life. A comparison was also drawn between the years 1753 and 1828. In terms of returns, the figures for each year are in keeping with preceding and succeeding years. In 1753 those men trading at Eastmain produced a total of 2,255 beaver pelts and 1,800 martens besides other lesser furs. There were approximately fifty-nine inland hunters and twenty coasters (B.3/d/6:14;B.59/a/21). In 1828 a total of eighty-nine hunters brought to the post 912 beaver pelts, 1,885 martens and 3,400 muskrats. It seems evident to me to conclude that even prior to the intense competition between the Hudson's Bay and North West Companies, the James Bay people were already highly involved in the fur trade and that this involvement did not increase as time passed. During the period of competition the trade produced by the James Bay people was equally substantial. For example, in 1788 Captain Nebbittiabinow, who had been trading the previous five years at the North West Company post of Mistassini, arrived at Eastmain with twenty men and furs equivalent in value to 1,110 made beaver (the standard of trade equivalent to one prime beaver skin). Such a trade was not uncommon particularly during the years the trading captain system was at its height. In addition to the furs traded at the Hudson's Bay Company posts, the James Bay people were also supplying first French posts and later North West Company posts. This evidence does not negate Rogers' correlation but it does show that on Rogers' terms a much earlier date for the establishment of hunting territories was possible.

Subsistence vs. Exchange Activities

Leacock's similar argument is that fur trapping was a luxury that could not be indulged in until there was a reliable food supply, such as store-bought foods. Subsistence activities were dependent on co-operative patterns which militated against a movement towards individualism. Leacock's analysis was based on the Montagnais of the lower north shore of the St. Lawrence River. They were, until recent times, primarily caribou hunters and this must be kept in mind. However her distinction between subsistence activities and production for trade can still stand as a possible criterion of family hunting territories. Leacock (1954.7) argues, following Herskovits' differentiation between production for use and for exchange, that once furs were secured for trade, the individual's economic ties were transferred from within the band to without it and co-operation changed to competition. The availability of store-bought foods enabled this shift to individualism to occur. As Bishop (1970.13) has shown, family hunting territories developed in northern Ontario much before the introduction of store foods.

The data from the James Bay records offer another line

of challenge to Leacock's premise. It questions the assumption that subsistence activities and production for trade are mutually exclusive activities. Her formulation ignores the fact that in acquiring furs subsistence needs can be, to a considerable extent, also met. Using the total fur returns from 1753 at Eastmain as the basic data and Rogers' (1973.78) figures for the average weight of each of the species eaten by the Mistassini Cree, then beaver alone yielded some 96,900 lbs. while the total weight of the animals hunted for trade was 104,406 lbs. This total poundage represents an average of 1,770 lbs. per hunter or approximately 354 lbs. per person on the basis of five individuals per nuclear family. (See Morantz 1977c.9.) These findings argue strongly against the position that goals of furs and food were conflicting ones. Thus an individualized ownership of fur resources need not have awaited and did not await the availability of store-purchased foodstuffs, a twentieth century development in James Bay.

Implications of a Credit System

Another element of the trade that has been largely ignored and which contradicts the view that individualization did not develop until late in the fur trade is the fur trade companies' practice of giving "debt" or "credit" or "trust". Rogers (1963.84) acknowledges the impact this would have had on the concept of private ownership but he relegates this practice to the late nineteenth century. The fact is that the systematic practice of extending credit goes back in James Bay to as early as September 12, 1739 when the captain of the coastal Indians approached the master at Eastmain, Joseph Isbister, and successfully argued for its practice. The conversation proceeded as follows:

> Allso ye Capt of ye home Indians and wanted to be trusted so I taulk'd with him and told him that it was a bad custom & that it ye reazon of all ye Southern Indians gooing to ye French. Allso made them carless in catching goods they being Soplied with neceserys upon trust that it mad them deilletory in loking out for furs. He answard & sead iff they could not be soplied by trust that it might be a means of destroying them all for he sed formerly we traded sumer furs so that there but letle ocasion to tak goods on trust. But we traded nothing but winter goods & sead they must be soplied with neceserys to catch them withall or else there wold be but letle trade. So I trusted ye Capt. . .
>
> (B.59/a/4:7)

Not only were the English giving credit but there is the reference in the above passage that the French were doing so as well. Documentary evidence for this does appear in

the French records of 1732 regarding the Indians trading at Chamouchouane and Chicoutimi (Normandin 1732.117). In fact the author, an early surveyor for New France, describes how the Indians manipulated the credit system by switching posts. It was obviously a well-rooted system by the middle of the 1700's.

That credit was granted on an individual basis is certain for in 1738 in correspondence from Moose Fort to London the practice is deplored because if an Indian chooses to go to the French or becomes sick or dies, the debt is lost as, laments the trader in reference to the Indians, "here is no executors" (A.11/43:15d). Furthermore in the correspondence of 1784 the chief trader at Eastmain instructs the master at Rupert House to forward an account of his debts "with the name of each Indian that takes it & the quantity thereof" (B.59/b/4:2). What this data regarding credit show is that the James Bay Indians, as well as those of other areas, were involved in the fur trade as individuals and not as members of families or co-residential groups. They received credit from the companies and in turn were responsible as individuals for repaying it. Certainly this is an indication that some sense of property rights was in force more than two hundred years ago.

Trespass

A very necessary adjunct to the existence of family hunting territories is the notion of trespass. This was recognized by Speck (1915.59) back in 1915 and it has been considered by all the writers since. That hunting territories and the notion of trespass are inextricably linked is best expressed by Bishop (1970.6) in his statement, "There can be no trespass without boundaries and no resentment if ideas concerning rights are not present". In other words if access to goods is freely available then the notion of trespass would not exist. That it did so in James Bay back in 1745 seems probable from this entry by Mitchell in his Eastmain journal which reads as follows:

> Ever [sic] Indian hath a River or Part whear ya Resorts to ye winter season & in som are More fish yn others. But ya count it a Trespass to kill anything in one anothers Leiberty for Last winter one of our Indians did not kill one Martain & I asked him ye rason. He sade another Indian tould him all ye martains Be Longd to him so he sade he lived on Dear & som Rabbits.
>
> (B.59/a/12:17d)

Note that the notion of trespass is extended only to those animals involved in trade but not to animals of interest primarily for subsistence. Here is evidence of Leacock's dualism between food and furs but demonstrating in fact their co-existence. As well, this passage contains the observation that it is the furs which are deemed private property and not the land. Other references to trespass

occur in the journals of the 1700's though none are so cogently formulated. Mostly they are reports of the hunters complaining of encroachment by others. Although trespass did occur this does not refute the existence of the land tenure system. In fact it proves the awareness of private property rights.

Conservation

Conservation practices is another issue in the discussion of family hunting territories first raised by Speck (1915.60) and which has enjoyed prominence in the literature ever since. Within the context of the fur trade, in which furs take on an increased value, practical implementation of conservation measures is, of course, dependent on the acceptance of private property rights and the notion of trespass. Rogers (1963.84) is very likely right when he claims conservation measures both developed as a result of private property rights and served to strengthen these rights. However conservation measures need not develop in a family hunting territory system unless there is pressure on the land. As for eastern James Bay there are very clear references to conservation practices in the 1840's (B.186/b/43:14). The question is whether the idea of conservation was introduced by the Hudson's Bay Company or was an Indian development during fur trade times. (This is omitting the whole other problem of whether conservation was practised in aboriginal times.)

There has not been found in the historical records a direct statement, or otherwise, that can be construed as indicating the observance of conservation measures by the James Bay Indians in the eighteenth century. This does not, of course, prove anything. However in the 1820's when the records are more informative, several Hudson's Bay Company factors write of the Indians' agreement with company policies in this regard and say these ideas are not foreign to them (B.186/e/6:8;B.1/e/2:4). Perhaps this suggests it was a practice going back in time. On the other hand, a passage from the journal of Joseph Isbister, quoted earlier, indicates that the hunters were taking summer beaver as long as the company was accepting these skins in trade. How extensive this was or whether other conservation measures were employed to counterbalance the hunting of beaver in the summer is not known. The evidence, or rather lack of it, is, on the whole, inconclusive. Clear statements in this regard would have provided convincing arguments for a well-defined family hunting territory system in the eighteenth century.

Summary and Conclusion

In another paper (Morantz 1977c) I have explored the development and nature of the family hunting territory system in more depth and over a greater time span. My objectives in this paper were to determine if this territorial system was in existence in the James Bay region in the 1700's. To accomplish this task I investigated if the conditions, established by anthropologists as being favourable to the development of family hunting territories,

existed amongst the James Bay Cree of that period.

It was shown that, unlike other regions, the Cree were not exclusively big game hunters and in fact they were by the mid-eighteenth century considerably involved in the production of furs for exchange. Thus they were not highly mobile as were the Northern Ojibwa and the Montagnais and it is conceivable that co-residential groups could have returned to the same tract of land each year. Their winter hunting groups seemed, from the evidence, to be smaller than the larger communal hunting groups described by Bishop. Furthermore it was shown that their subsistence and trading activities complemented each other rather than competed so another obstacle to the early development of family hunting territories was potentially removed. Their involvement in the fur trade provided individuals with trade goods for their own consumption so that individualization processes were in force. These would have been reinforced considerably by the practice of credit being extended to individual hunters as far back as the early 1700's. The notion of trespass was considered by the anthropologists as a key factor in the development of the land-tenure system and yet its awareness and avoidance were documented in the records of 1745. Conservation was one feature which could not be confirmed as having been observed by the James Bay Cree in the 1700's, a matter of not significant concern since all the anthropologists agree it was a result of family hunting territories rather than a requirement. Still, its practice would have definitely confirmed the functioning of such a land tenure system.

I can only conclude, given that all the necessary conditions were present amongst the eastern James Bay Cree of the eighteenth century, that some form of family hunting territory system was in existence then. While the evidence is not clear enough to argue for a relatively well-defined system, it is sufficient to support the view that this system had already taken shape in the 1700's and was evolving towards a system with more definite notions of property concepts and principles of trespass.

NOTES

[1] I wish to thank the Hudson's Bay Company for their kind permission to consult and quote from their records on deposit on microfilm at the Public Archives of Canada (PAC). I have consulted the following Hudson's Bay Company records:

A.11.....London Inward Correspondence from Hudson's Bay Company Posts
B.1/e.....Abitibi Post Reports on District
B.3/d.....Albany Post Account Books
B.59/a.....Eastmain Post Journals
B.59/b.....Eastmain Post Correspondence Books
B.135/k.....Moose Post Minutes of Council
B.186/b.....Rupert House Correspondence Books
B.186/e.....Rupert House Reports on District

I also wish to thank the Direction de l'Archéologie et de l'Ethnologie of the Ministère des Affaires Culturelles, Québec, for having generously funded most of the research and writing of this paper, under the auspices of the James Bay Ethnohistory Program.

[2] The average hunt of each man works out to 19 whole beaver pelts and 29 marten skins. This correlates well with the amounts brought in by each hunter, when such information is given. The twenty coasters (coastal Indians) would have produced less than the inlanders as the former were on poorer grounds for fur bearing animals. As well they had other means of making up their credit allotment, such as provisioning the company.

L'alternance n/yod en mushuau innu

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Dans cet article j'aimerais décrire une particularité du mushuau innu, le parler cri-montagnais de la communauté desservi par le village d'Utshimashits (appelé aussi Davis Inlet) qui est situé sur la côte du Labrador au nord du 57ème parallèle. Cette communauté de chasseurs nomades, peut-être la dernière de son genre parmi les peuples algonquiens, occupe une grande partie de la toundra (mushuau astshin) entre le lac de la Hutte Sauvage, situé sur la rivière George au Québec, et la côte Atlantique du Labrador. C'est de là ou du nom de la rivière George elle-même (Mushuau shipu) que dérive leur nom. La communauté est composée actuellement d'une trentaine de familles dont la plupart suivent le mode de vie traditionel consacrant leur temps presqu'exclusivement à la chasse et à la pêche, se déplaçant selon le va-et-vient des animaux et les besoins des activités saisonnières. C'est en partie à cause de leur mode de vie et aussi peut-être de l'inaccessibilité relative de ce coin du continent que ce peuple a été épargné de tout contact prolongé avec des éléments blancs, y compris des linguistes, ce qui explique sans doute, pourquoi on ne dispose d'aucune description de ce parler en dehors de quelques allusions qu'on retrouve dans des écrits de missionaires, commerçants ou voyageurs de passage dans la région. Cette situation est quand même en train d'évoluer puisque j'ai eu l'occasion de passer l'année 1976-1977 avec eux et de cueillir une quantité appréciable de données linguistiques à partir desquelles j'espère amorcer une description détaillée.[1]

Cet article constitue la première d'une série ou je mettrai en relief les particularités phonologiques de ce dialecte. Celle qui fait l'objet de mes commentaires ici porte sur une variation ou série de variations impliquant n et yod. J'illustrerai d'abord le phénomène à partir des données internes puis ensuite je présenterai une solution au niveau de la représentation. Je commenterai ensuite cette solution de divers points de vue, de celui de la description pure et simple de ce dialecte, de celui de la dialectologie cri-montagnaise en général, de celui de l'évolution historique de ces dialectes.

On observe dans ce dialecte l'alternance illustré dans le Tableau I. Dans (i) la variation dont il est question se retrouve chez les suffixes personnels. Pour les verbes dont la voyelle thématique est i ou u on retrouve n, là où pour la thématique a ou e correspondante il s'agit de j.

Dans (ii) on voit que pour le présent de l'indicatif à l'indépendant des verbes TI, classe de verbes pour lesquels les désinences de personnes ressemblent beaucoup à celles des verbes AI, la voyelle thématique conditionne aussi la consonne suivante dans des circonstances analogues. Dans

Tableau I

(i) Le présent de l'indicatif à l'indépendant des verbes AI

voyelle thématique

	e ou a	i ou u
exemple	astau "poser"	matshiu "s'en aller"
1	ɲtastaj	nəmatšin
2	stastaj	tšmatšin
3	astaw	matšiu
4	astanu	matšinu
1p	ɲtastajaj	nəmatšinaj
21	stastajaj	tšəmatšinaj
2p	stastajaw	tšəmatšinaw
3p	astauts	matšiuts

(ii) TI

exemple tutam "faire"	
	ɲtotej
	stotej
	totəm
	totəmnu
	ɲtotejaj
	stotejaj
	stotejaw
	totəmwəts

(iii) TA -3

exemple uapamau "voir quelqu'un"
nwapmaw
tšwapmaw
wapmeu
wapmenu
nwapmawaj
tšwapmawaj
tšwapmawaw
wapmeuts

(iii) on voit qu'il va de même pour les TA.

On peut observer le même phénomène dans d'autres conjugaisons. Par exemples dans (1) j'illustre la variabilité pour la première personne singulier du présent de l'indicatif au conjonctif.

(1a)	astajan	"que je pose"
	atusejan	"que je travaille"
(1b)	matšinan	"que je m'en aille"
	kaneunan	"que je gagne"

Un deuxième cas de variation concerne le pluriel des noms finissant en n au singulier. Des exemples figurent dans (2) pour le nom inanimé, et (3) illustre le cas du nom animé.

(2)	sing.	plur.	
	stuhwej	stuhweja	"porte"
	tšuhumapwən	tšuhumapweja	"fourchette"
	kwotwagən	kwotwage	"allumette"
	məšənanəgən	məšənanəgej	"livre"
(3)	pahwišəgən	pahwišəgejəts	"pain"

Cette alternance est moins stable et varie beaucoup d'une personne à l'autre comportant de nombreuses variantes. Celles de (2) illustrent tout la gamme observée.

Un autre cas de variation concerne des processus dérivationnels tels qu'illustrés dans (4):

(4)	kwuškən	"hameçon"
	kwuškejapin	"ligne de pêche"
	kwuškejaskʷ	"canne à pêche"
	nəkwan	"collet"
	nəkwajapin	"corde pour faire des collets"
	apwan	"viande en train de rôtir"
	apwajaškʷ	"bâton pour rôtir"

Finalement mentionnons deux autres cas d'alternance n/yod. D'abord les emprunts tirés du français ou de l'anglais, deux langues avec lesquelles les Mushuau-innu ont eu un contact assez réduit depuis peut-être cent ans. La plupart des emprunts concernent les noms propres, on fournit une liste dans (5). On remarque tout de suite que comme on ne retrouve dans ce dialecte ni r ni l, le l ou r du français ou de l'anglais se transforme, mais contrairement aux autres dialectes cri-montagnais pas systématiquement en n ou yod mais en soit n soit yod.

(5)	pijašwe	← frãswe
	unijam	← wIljam
	pinamej	← filomɛn
	anikəšant	← alɛksãd

Le dernier cas que je citerai concerne les variantes apparemment libres illustrées dans (6).

(6)	emihwan	/ emihwaj	"cuillère"
	tuwan	/ tuwaj	"ballon"

Mais il faut noter aussi des cas de non variabilité tel que (7).

(7)	tšegwan	"quelquechose"
	tšegwajgwo	"pourquoi, à cause de quoi?"
	muhuman	"couteau"
	muhumana	"des couteaux"

Pour tenir compte de variantes verbales je propose la règle (8a)

(8a) $n \rightarrow j \; / \; \{^{a}_{e} \; __ \; ^{a}_{\#}\}$

laquelle règle produit un résultat satisfaisant pour les paradigmes du Tableau I.

On peut y incorporer le cas de (2) en postulant un a sous-jacent au [ə] ce qui nous permet de garder la règle (8a) sans changement si on explicite la non-pertinence de la longueur vocalique. a dans les règles représente une

voyelle basse et antérieure non-spécifiée quant à sa longueur. Pour tenir compte de la variabilité nous postulons soit la règle (8b) soit la (8c).

(8b) Ă → ə / __ n opt

(8c) Ă → e / __ j oblig

présupposant que l'ordre des règles est (8b), (8a), (8c). Notons en passant que cet ensemble de règles est motivé indépendemment des exemples dans (2). Une forme comme *meskejo 'sentier' ne peut être expliquée qu'en faisant appel à l'ordre (8a), (8c).

Dérivation:

	meškanaw
(8a)	meskajaw
(8c)	meskejaw
relâchement	meskejo
	meskejo

Ce même ensemble de règles explique les cas comme (3) et aussi les formes dérivationnelles dans (4), la frontière morphologique n'étant pas pertinente.

(7) peut être expliqué lexicalement seulement, en postulant des exceptions absolues à la règle (8a). La règle serait autrement optionelle.

Une autre exception absolue serait le n final du morphème de première personne pour le présent au conjonctif. Voir (1).

(5) implique l'existence d'autres règles. D'abord une contraction (8d) pour tneir compte de unijam

(8d) wI → u / __ n

et aussi un allongement de I devant j. Ceci pour tenir compte de l'opposition pijaŠwe / pinamej. La seule explication se trouve dans une suite de règle n → j / I __ a, et I → Ī / __ j, à moins de supposer qu'il s'agit de noms empruntés de dialectes différents.

Je fais remarquer en passant deux motivations en faveur de la formation de la règle dans le sens n → j plutôt que j → n. D'abord le fait que si on essaie de construire une règle de cette forme-ci on aboutit à un ensemble de contextes moins homogène puisque même s'il semble possible de formuler une généralisation intéressante à savoir (9):

(9) j → n / {i, u}

le nombre d'exceptions est supérieur au nombre d'exceptions à la règle (8a).

La deuxième motivation serait les cas de non-variation. J'ai tendance à penser que les substantifs qui ne subissent pas la règle (8a) c'est à dire qui constituent des exceptions absolues, n'ont pas encore acquis la règle

plutôt que d'être des formes déjà stabilisées, puisque ce sont des mots fréquemment employés. Un mot rarement employé wapistaj 'martre' est sujet à variabilité tandis que les exemples dans (6), mots d'emploi fréquent, ne subissent jamais la règle (8a). Bien que je suppose qu'on pourrait probablement prétendre le contraire j'opte pour une directionalité qui présuppose l'acquisition éventuelle de la règle variable par l'ensemble du lexique. Un point d'intérêt peut-être est que le mot wapistaj, quand il figure, paraît surtout dans des légendes qui sont caractérisées par une forme de langage déjà archaïsante.

Pour résumer l'analyse des données internes je postule l'ensemble de règles 10.

(10a) ă → ə / __ n

(10b) n → j / {a, e} __ a, #

(10c) ă → e / __ j

(10d) ĭ → ī / __ j

(10e) wi → u / __ n

Comparaison dialectale

Les caractéristiques dialectales de la variation n/yod sont illustrées dans le Tableau II où on peut voir que par rapport à un dialecte en yod ou un dialecte en n le Mushuau innu présente une série de formes uniques tantôt en n tantôt en yod. Dans le Tableau II on a à peu près toute la gamme de différences possibles.

Tableau II

Français		Mistassini	Mushuau Innu	Uashau Innu
(i)	"filet"	hibij	ajapin	nəpij
(ii)	"il pense"	itejtəm	itenitəm	itentəm
(iii)	"qui?"	awen	awej	wen
(iv)	"il cache"	kajeu	kaneu	kaneu
(v)	"toi"	tšij	tšin	tšin
(vi)	"il sort"	wejwiu	wejwiu	unuwiu
(vii)	"il vente"	ajotŋ	notŋ	notŋ
(viii)	"mon père"	nutawi	nutaun	nutawi
(ix)	"son coeur"	utehi	utejn	utei
(x)	"loup"	mehikən	menihej	mejgən
(xi)	"couvercle"	tšapigan	tšəpanəgej	tšəpejgən

Supposons qu'on veuille tenir compte des correspondances entre les dialectes moyennant des règles. Il s'avère qu'on arrive mal à le faire avec l'ensemble des règles 10. C'est-à-dire en postulant que le mushuau-innu était à l'origine un dialecte en n qui s'est transformé en n/yod mixte moyennant l'acquisition de la règle (10b). On n'explique que les cas (i), (ii), (iii), (v), (vii) et (x),

et pas du tout des cas comme le n final dans (i), ni, (vi), (viii), (ix) ou (xi). Par contre si on postule qu'il s'agit d'un dialecte en yod qui se transforme en n il faut formuler une règle comme (11) qui tient compte de la presque totalité des rapports entre un dialecte en yod et le dialecte mixte. Il reste pourtant des cas difficiles à expliquer dont (iv)

$$(11)\quad j \rightarrow n \;/\; \begin{matrix} i \\ e - i \\ a \end{matrix} \quad \begin{matrix} \\ \\ \\ i \\ u - a \end{matrix}$$

Conclusion générale à partir de la comparaison dialectale, le mushuau innu par rapport aux dialectes en n ou en yod semble avoir acquis au moins deux règles qui ressemblent un peu à nos règles (10b) et (11).

Une confirmation importante à la règle (11) est fournie par la forme changée ou mode interrogatif des verbes ayant un ā en première syllabe. De l'indépendant uapmeu on passe à la forme changée unapmat ceci comparée à la forme wijapmat dans les dialectes en n ou yod.

Un stade intermédiaire est illustré par un verbe comme pašweu - forme changée pinašwat - 'tirer' donnant une justification supplémentaire à notre règle (8e): wi·u/__n.

Evolution historique

La dialectologie cri-montagnaise retient surtout un changement historique lié à l'évolution du *l reconstruit par Bloomfield (1946.87). Les divisions principales du cri occidental font appel à ce critère (Wolfart 1973.8-9), et au Québec ce même trait a figuré au sein des classifications proposées (Drapeau et al 1975) (voir) Tableau III, IV). Dans ce qui suit je reviens sur ce même trait de variantes provenant d'une même source proto-cri mais pour montrer qu'en ce qui concerne le mushuau innu le phénomène n'est pas tout à fait la même chose que pour d'autres dialectes et l'évidence que je fournis pourrait même servir à mettre en cause ce qu'on a pris pour acquis jusqu'ici.

Tableau III

Classification des parlers cri-montagnais du Québec

	*l	hc	*k/e, i	Nég-conj	a·e
Uashau innu	n	-	tš	+	+
Uaskanikan innu	j	+	tš	-	-
Mushuau innu	n/j	+	tš	-	+
Côte Nord	n	+	tš	+	+
Betsiamites	l	-	tš	+	+

	*l	hc	*k/é	Nég-conj	a e
Pointe Bleue	l	+	tš	+	+
Mistassini	j	+	tš	-	+
Baie James	j	+	tš	-	-
Poste de la Baleine	j	+	tš	-	-
Attikamek	r	+	k	-	-

Pour illustrer la différence entre l'évolution du *l partout ailleurs au Québec et ce qui se produit en mushuau innu on peut se rapporter au Tableau V.

Tableau IV

*l → l	Betsiamites Pointe Bleue
*l → y	Uashanikan innu (Schefferville) Mistassini Baie James
*l → n	Uashau innu Côte Nord Mushuau innu
*l → r	Attikamek

Tableau V

Français	Uashau innu	Betsiamites	Mistassini	Attikamek
"indien"	iñu	ilnu	ijnu	irnu
"vieux"	tsennu	tselnu	tsejnu	kernu
"moi"	nin	nil	nij	nir
"beau"	mɪnuašu	məlwašu	mijašu	mirašu
"framboise"	anuškan	aluškan	juškan	ruškan
"perdrix"	pineu	pileu	pijeu	pireu
"savoir"	tšisentəm	tšiseltəm	tšisejtəm	tšisertəm
"sortir"	unuwiu	uluwiu	wejwiu	uruwiu
"l'argent"	šuniaw	šuliaw	šujaw	šurian
"voler"	pəmpənu	pəmpəlnu	pəmpejeu	pəmpəreu

On voit clairement à partir des 4 dialectes différents pour lesquels je fournis des formes apparentées que pour chaque dialecte il existe un segment charactéristique n/l/j/r et qu'il y a correspondance absolue. C'est à base de ce type de corrélation qu'on postule le changement historique illustré dans le Tableau III.

Contrairement à ce qui se trouve ailleurs le mushuau innu ne présente pas l'homogénéité qu'on retrouve dans d'autres dialectes. L'évolution *l fournit un ensemble de variantes n/j. (Voir tableau II).

Le problème qui se pose c'est comment tenir compte de cette différence. Une solution évidente qui semble s'offrir c'est de proposer que le Mushuau innu a subi le

même changement qu'un des autres dialectes soit *l > n ou *l > j et que par la suite il est survenu un deuxième changement n > j ou j > n, ou les deux. Un appui important est prêté à ce type de solution par le fait que les variantes n/j que l'on retrouve ne coincident pas toujours avec un *l. C'est-à-dire que ce dialecte possède déjà des n ou des j qui proviennent de sources autres que *l, et ces formes sont aussi affectées par des variations n/j, ce qui n'est pas le cas pour les autres dialectes. Autrement dit dans un dialecte comme celui de la Moisie un n n'a que deux sources historiques possibles: *l ou *n. Donc dans nin le deuxième n provient du *l du proto-cri puisqu'on retrouve les autres évolutions possibles: l dans nil à Betsiamites j dans nij à Mistassini, r dans nir à la Manouane. Mais le premier n provient du *n puisqu'il ne varie nul part. Chez les Mushuau innu les sources de n sont plus nombreuses. Ça peut venir de *l ou *n comme dans le cas du Uashau innu dans la forme nin mais ça peut être produit aussi par le changement historique ou règle synchronique exprimé par la correspondance (11). Donc dans ajapin ou tšəpanəgən le n final ou inter-vocalique correspond à un j qui provient d'un hj ou d'un j proto-cri. De même si on compare le Mushuau innu avec un dialecte en yod on voit qu'à Mistassini par exemple le j provient de deux sources *l ou *i exemples - jame, tšij mais en Mushuau innu on a des j qui proviennent de *n dans menihej le yod final serait le résultat de l'application de notre règle (8a), puisqu'à Mistassini on a meijqən.

Initialement on limiterait ce phénomène au mushuau innu ce qui donnerait

```
              l
              r
*l  ——        n
              yod
              ɑ
```

où ɑ représente la variabilité n/j

Mais une hypothèse intéressante à examiner serait la possibilité que l'histoire de l'évolution soit de la forme suivante.

```
*ɑ      l - Betsiamites, Pointe Bleue
   \*l
*l      r - Attikamek
          n - Uashau innu, Côte Nord
          ɑ - Mushuau innu
          j - Baie James, Mistassini, Poste de la
              Baleine, Uaskanijan
```

C'est-à-dire que les dialectes en yod ou en n seraient des dialectes progressistes qui auraient simplifié la situation "flip-flop" (10b) et (11) en faveur de soit (10b) soit (11).

Les dialectes seraient donc marqués par le changement historique suivant

(1a) n / partout ailleurs

12. *l →

(1b) j / $\begin{matrix} e \\ a \end{matrix}$ ___ $\begin{matrix} a \\ \# \end{matrix}$

Un dialecte en n aurait généralisé la partie (1a) à la partie (1b) de la règle. Un dialecte en yod aurait étendu la partie (1b) à la partie (1a). Et le mushuau innu aurait conservé la règle qu'il aurait séparé en deux (10b) et (11) et étendu à tout n/j sous-jacent.

NOTES

[1] Une partie des données partiellement analysée, est déjà disponible sous forme d'une première version d'un manuel (Ford 1977) que j'ai écrit en vue de l'enseignement de la langue aux professeurs de l'école d'Utshimashits.

[2] Ce mot est rarement employé parce que ces animaux ne se trouve point dans la région où vivent les mushuau innu.

[3] Ce *l serait lui-même le résultat d'un amalgame *ə et *l. Voir Piggot 1971.

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